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CONTENTS

OF

N^o. XIII.

PAGE

- ART. I. Mahometanism Unveiled : an Inquiry in which that Arch-Heresy, its Diffusion and Continuance, are examined on a New Principle, tending to confirm the Evidence, and aid the Propagation of the Christian Faith. By the Rev. Charles Forster, B.D. Chancellor of Ardfert, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Limerick. 1
- II. The History of the Church of England. By J. B. S. Carwithen, B.D. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford; Bampton Lecturer for 1809; and Vicar of Sandhurst, Berks. . . 45
- III. Of Christian Sincerity. By John Penrose, M.A. formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 79
- IV. Memoirs of his own Life and Times. By Sir James Turner. 1632—1670. 104
- V. Sermons, Explanatory and Practical, on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, in a Series of Discourses, delivered at the Parish Church of St. Alphage, Greenwich. By the Rev. T. Waite, D.C.L. Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, and Master of the Grammar School, Lewisham Hill. . . 130

VI.	Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr. By John, Bishop of Lincoln, and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.	152
VII.	Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828. By Captain Basil Hall, Royal Navy.	191
VIII.	The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D. illustrative of various Particulars in his Life hitherto unknown; with Notice of many of his Contemporaries; and a Sketch of the Ecclesiastical History of the Times in which he lived. Edited, from the Original MSS., by his Great-Grandson, John Doddridge Humphreys, Esq.	225
IX.	A Charge delivered in July, 1829, at Stokesly, Thirsk, Malton, to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Cleveland; and printed at their request. By the Venerable and Reverend Leveson Venables Vernon, M.A.	232
<hr/>		
	State of the Dioceses	236
	Proceedings of the Universities	248

XXIII. C. 10

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ART. I. — *Mahometanism Unveiled: an Inquiry in which that Arch-Heresy, its Diffusion and Continuance, are examined on a New Principle, tending to confirm the Evidences, and aid the Propagation of the Christian Faith.* By the Rev. Charles Forster, B.D. Chancellor of Ardfert, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Limerick. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Duncan, and Cochran. 1829. Price 1*l.* 4*s.*

THE perusal of these volumes has very forcibly recalled to our recollection a conversation once held by one of our fraternity with a distinguished Arabic scholar—who had, possibly, suffered his imagination to be a little seduced by the barbaric splendours and allurements of Islamism—and who gravely declared that, in his opinion, it was infinitely to be regretted that Mahomet had met with so much stubborn opposition in the outset of his project; for that, if he had been left entirely to himself, he most certainly intended to *make a very good religion of it!* We can hardly help suspecting that the very estimable author now before us has been, during the composition of his work, occasionally at least, under the influence of feelings not wholly dissimilar to those which dictated the above declaration. He seems, *at times*, to entertain a secret kindness and complacency towards the Prophet, as one who had been somewhat unfairly and illiberally *run down* by the masters of Christian theology. The main principle of his book appears to imply something of this very charitable feeling: for it considers the Arabic superstition as the spiritual representative of Ishmael, much in the same sense that the true religion is the representative of Isaac; and bespeaks for the illegitimate offspring a much more generous and considerate treatment than it has usually experienced at the hand of the lawful inheritor. The author expresses himself, in some parts of his disqui-

sition, as if he thought that, really, Mahomet not only meant to compile a very tolerable religion; but that, to a certain extent, he had actually succeeded. And he intimates, very broadly, that it is scarcely becoming for Christian men to vent unmeasured obloquy against a system of faith, which undeniably ranks next in order to the undoubted revelations, and which seems remarkably adapted for the important office of ultimately preparing the world for the reception of the Gospel.

We confess that we are not inclined to regard with quite so much severity as some of our contemporaries the fraternal disposition which Mr. Forster seems to have cultivated towards the Moslem; for, though it has tempted him to the pursuit of a motley multitude of visionary fancies, it has likewise prompted him to a task which may possibly be instrumental towards the correction of certain vulgar errors, and may prepare our minds for the position, that ignorance and brutality are not the *universal* and *inevitable* accompaniments of a belief in the Koran.

That our notions respecting the followers of the Prophet are, in general, very far from complimentary, is perfectly notorious. If an Englishman, for instance, were desired to define a Musulman as he is now, and always has been, and ever will be—his answer would probably be, that he is a turbaned and bearded man, who sits all day smoking away his faculties with tobacco, or paralyzing them with opium, and, at night, goes to bed with his breeches on; one who, if his wife's light conversation makes him uneasy, gets rid of his jealousy by sewing it up in a sack, with the frail fair one, and tossing them together into the Bosphorus; one, who tears his provender to pieces with his fingers, and fearlessly plunges, knuckle-deep, into the abominations of the greasiest pillau; one who squats upon his heels five times a day, makes all manner of antics and grimaces, and calls it praying; lastly, one who spits upon the uncircumcised, calls the Christians dogs, and looks upon the body of every Giaour he meets as fit for nothing but a target for the pistol of the true believer.

Such, with tolerable exactness, is the image which starts up in the mind of most good Christians at the mention of a Musulman: and the matter is not much mended when we come to reflect on Mahometanism in the abstract. It generally presents itself to our imaginations as a malignant Power with the praises of Allah in its mouth, and a double-edged slaughter-weapon in its grasp; as a fury with the Koran in one hand, and the scimeter in the other; as a fiend that piles up pyramids of human heads, and casts the torch into the midst of the treasures of science and literature; as a monster that treads out, under its barbarian hoof, every spark of learning and intelligence; as an incubus that

oppresses the faculties of mankind by a stupid predestinarian apathy; as a tempter that lures its victims with a lighted pipe into the midst of the powder-magazine, and teaches its slaves to hug the pestilence, and positively to adore the bowstring; as a minister of vengeance that changes the Garden of Eden into a desert; that actually pronounces an interdict on the accumulation of individual wealth or the establishment of national prosperity; that blasts and withers the hopes of the world; that keeps the intellect of man in outer darkness, triumphs in the degeneracy and degradation of the human race, and sits enthroned on the ruins of our common nature.

We might appeal to any intelligent observer, to say, whether the above is not a tolerably correct representation of the phantasmagoria which passes before the mind's eye of nine people out of ten, at the very thought of *Mahound* and his circumcised infidels? We might ask, whether the very name of Musulman does not usually convey to us the unqualified notion of rudeness, ferocity and stupidity, and exclude the idea of almost every virtuous habit or emotion? And if so, we might further put it to the candour of every sincere Christian, whether charity and wisdom do not demand of us a patient examination of the brighter side of the picture, if there be one; or at least an attempt to discover something which may somewhat qualify the aversion naturally excited by such an assemblage of abominations?

At the same time, it must be allowed that there is nothing very wonderful in the dislike with which the Mahometan character is apt to be regarded in the present age; for, in truth, the glories of Islam appear now to have altogether passed away, and to have left little behind them but the dregs of a brutalizing superstition. The splendours of the Asiatic and Spanish Mahometan dynasties are gone, never to return. The Turk is now the grand representative and patron of the Faith, and the Turk always has been, and perhaps always will be, little better than a coarse, brainless, and sensual barbarian. He is the ass—or the bear—or the buffalo—of Asia. No term of contempt is too low to express the scorn with which he is viewed by the acute and lively and comparatively intellectual Persian: nor would it, perhaps, be easy for rhetoric or satire to calumniate his mental capacity or dignity. Now it so happens that our notions of a good Musulman are taken from the subjects of *our ancient and faithful ally*, the Commander of the Faithful, the Sublime Sultan, the Brother of the Sun and Moon! It can therefore hardly be matter of astonishment if our estimate of the character involves almost every thing but what is calculated to command respect or good will.

In addition to this consideration, it must be observed that, of

late years, not only in Turkey, but throughout the whole Mahometan world, the appalling energies of Islamism have appeared to be gradually expiring, while its grovelling and odious vices remain in all their atrocity. The rooted detestation for Christianity is as unconquerable as ever; but the reckless and frenzied self-devotion is gone. There is consequently nothing left to relieve or to dignify the depravity, the seeds of which were so widely and prodigally scattered by this portentous apostasy. The representations of modern travellers in the East accordingly are unanimous in communicating most revolting impressions relative to the condition of society, throughout the regions in possession of *the Believers*. Take, by way of example, the following statements from Burkhardt.

“The double influence of the Turkish government and the Moslem religion, have produced such universal hypocrisy, that there is scarcely a Mahometan—(whose tranquil air as he smokes his pipe, reclining on his sofa, gives one an idea of the most perfect contentment and apathy,)—that does not suffer under all the agonies of envy, unsatisfied avarice, ambition, or the fear of losing his ill-gotten property.”*

The traveller then proceeds to assure us, that Europeans are often deceived by the dignified and solemn deportment of the Turks, their patriarchal manners, and their solemn and sententious speeches: and he adds—

“For my own part, a long residence among Turks, Syrians, and Egyptians, justifies me in declaring that they are wholly deficient in virtue, honour, and justice; that they have little true piety; and that honesty is to be found only in their paupers and idiots. A Turk believes himself to be a good Moslem, because he does not omit the performance of certain prayers and ablutions, and frequently invokes the forgiveness of God.”†

The very worst elements of the Moslem character appear to be intensely concentrated in the holiest of their cities—a circumstance not, perhaps, altogether without its parallel in Christendom!

“The Meccawys,” says Burkhardt, “are very lax in observing the forms of their religion. They think it enough to be Meccawys, and to utter pious ejaculations, while rigid practice is incumbent only on visitors and pilgrims. Like the Bedouins, they are very irregular in their prayers, or they do not pray at all. On Fridays, even, they sit smoking in their shops, instead of going to Mosque. After the pilgrims are gone, the Mosque is always very thinly attended. *They give no alms*, saying, they were placed at Mecca to receive charity, and not to bestow it. They quote the Koran and the *hadyth* (traditions) every moment; but they seem to think the Koran made only to be quoted. Intoxicating liquors are sold at the very gate of the Mosques. Cards are played in

* Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, p. 375.

† Ibid. p. 376.

every coffee-house—(though games of chance are expressly forbidden by their religion). Open protection is afforded by the government to persons, both male and female, of the most profligate character; and, in short, they have the honesty to confess, that the cities in which infidels are forbidden, abound in all other forbidden things.”*

Once more—

“ In the East, the Moslem, the most negligent and lax, are the most fanatical against the unbelievers. *The grossest superstition is found among those who trifle with their duties, and lay claim to free-thinking.* If fanaticism has somewhat decreased within the last twenty years, it is probably to be ascribed to the decreasing energy of the people, and to their growing indifference for their religion, and not to the spread of liberal and benevolent principles. Their law inculcates hatred to infidels; but the appearance of hate is laid aside when it suits their interest. More privileges are often allowed to Christians than their law sanctions; but this depends merely on the fiat of the government. The hatred to Christians is nearly universal; but the baseness of the Moslems is such, that they will kiss to-day the hand of him whom they trampled on yesterday. The Moslem can sacrifice feeling, passion, conscience, the will of God, for interest and fear of the ruling power.”†

This, it must be allowed, is a sufficiently revolting picture; but the substantial accuracy of it is, we believe, amply vouched by every traveller who has recently surveyed the original. The Osmanlee, it seems, has nearly ceased to be even a picturesque ruffian. He is often little better than a brutal and sordid miscreant. His very fanaticism, which used to give something of a fearful interest to his character, appears to be deserting him. Every account from the seat of war at this moment shows, that the spirit, which in former ages demolished empires at a sloop, is well nigh extinguished. The standard of the Prophet now “*flouts the air*” in vain; and if the Prophet himself were to revisit the earth, it is doubtful whether his presence would be more efficacious than the exhibition of his nether garment, by the present Commander of the Faithful! The breath of life seems to be almost gone from the system, and the exertions of the reigning sultan have been unable to recall it. With all his ruthless energies, he has been able to do no more than galvanize the corpse, and make it kick.

In order, then, to revive any feeling of interest or complacency towards the religion of Islam, it is absolutely necessary to forget its present condition—to recur to the contemplation of its historic splendours—and to fix upon the brighter departments of its original theory. Estimated by its visible results at this day, it is nothing better than a vulgar, sanguinary, and degrading super-

* Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, pp. 204, 205.

† Ibid. pp. 205—207.

stition. Viewed with reference to the effects, incidentally and indirectly produced by it, in a long course of ages, it may *possibly* assume a more respectable and interesting appearance, and present itself to our thoughts as an instrument employed by the Almighty, for the accomplishment of many benevolent and momentous purposes.

This is the method which, accordingly, has been most assiduously followed by Mr. Forster; and his researches have been rewarded with results which, we believe, have excited no moderate degree of astonishment in the public; and which, on their first discovery, must, we should imagine, have electrified the adventurer himself. He has discovered,—not merely that the faith of Mahomet is, in its principles, and often in its operations, much less detestable and absurd than superficial inquirers are apt to suspect—not merely that its establishment throughout so vast a portion of the globe is an instance of the mighty working, where-with Omnipotence is able to subdue all things to its own purposes; but that it is neither more nor less than the fulfilment of Jehovah's covenant with Abraham, on behalf of Ishmael, the son of his bondwoman. It is true, that he is constantly iterating the concession, that Mahometanism is an arch-heresy—a monstrous delusion—an execrable imposture—the most deadly and devastating apostasy with which the justice of heaven has ever visited the sins of men; and yet, with this admission ringing in our ears, we are gravely required by him to believe, that this prodigy of *deceitableness* and iniquity was distinctly in the contemplation of the Almighty, when, at the humble supplication of Abraham the patriarch, he pronounced a blessing on his spurious offspring—and that the foundation of a false and most pernicious religion was the fulfilment of God's gracious engagement with the Father of the Arabian tribes.

Now, by the beard of the Prophet himself, this really is rather too much! That tremendous enormities (as they appear to us,) are permitted to stalk along the high road of God's providential dealings, we all know; and the contemplation of such things is among the most severe, though probably most salutary, exercises of our faith. That the sovereign of the universe is perpetually compelling these powers of evil to labour, in spite of themselves, in advancing the grand scheme of mercy and beneficence, is likewise beyond all question; and the process by which the worst passions of our nature may thus be made to do the work of goodness, is (under sound discretion) one of the most delightful studies which can engage the attention of the Christian philosopher. But that the projects of an impudent, self-indulgent, ambitious, and lustful impostor, should be the consummation of a design

and covenant formed by the God who cannot look upon iniquity—that Belial should, in the Divine counsels, be formally and solemnly appointed to a ministry and agency, one object of which was to exterminate the Church of Christ—that the “fleshliest incubus” which ever oppressed the moral and intellectual energies of man should be revealed in prophetic vision to the Father of the Faithful, as the future glory and consolation of the outcast posterity of Hagar—that these things should be so, is a proposition the digestion of which demands a vigour and hardihood of faith, such as it will probably be difficult to find among the sons of men. The reception of this belief will be found to imply such a tremendous *circumcision* of all our natural feelings, respecting the providence of God, that, we suspect, but few adult, or at least few middle-aged Christians, will ever be persuaded to venture on the experiment.

It appears from his work, that Mr. Forster has accustomed himself to look this enormous hypothesis in the face, by the habit of reflecting on the manifold difficulties which the rise and progress of Islamism have presented to the speculators on its history. He has found, on reviewing the causes usually assigned for the success of this apostasy, that it has two peculiarities, utterly inexplicable by those who confine their views to the agency of merely human means; namely, its permanency, and the completeness of its mental dominion. He contends that these are phenomena of which no adequate solution has ever yet been given; and which, in truth, are incapable of solution without resorting to the special providence of the Almighty. He asserts, that by refusing this distinction to the religion of Mahomet, we virtually disable ourselves for the defence of Christianity against the cavils of unbelievers: for if it be affirmed that secondary causes have been sufficient to fix the empire of Islamism, we shall be in danger of being compelled to allow that similar causes may have done as much for the Gospel; and thus we shall have sacrificed to our hatred of the false religion, the main strength and glory of the true.

“When the infidel,” says Mr. Forster, “has succeeded in removing, to his own satisfaction, the miraculous evidences from the case of Christianity, by the argument from natural causes—and when the Christian advocate, by the adoption of the same argument, has summarily disposed of the case of Mahometanism—Christianity and Mahometanism remain still inexplicable by any theory, which shall exclude the idea and agency of a special Providence.”—vol. i. p. 66.

And by this train of reasoning he labours to prepare for the introduction of his hypothesis, namely, that the triumphant and permanent success of the Arabian superstition must inevitably be

referred to the Scriptural promise made by Jehovah to the fore-father of the impostor.

Now, we repeat, that there is something in this supposition against which all our feelings and principles unite in stubborn insurrection. It is a scheme which represents the Deity as positively, and almost articulately, stipulating with an individual, that He will give a special direction to his providential agency, for the express purpose of conferring on the posterity of that individual the enviable distinction of misleading a large proportion of the human race. For it must be remembered, that if this promise is predictive of Mahomet, it does not announce him as a scourge, or a curse, or an instrument of vengeance. It does not introduce him as a minister of Divine wrath, as a person whose connection with his blood would have been deprecated by the patriarch, as the severest infliction with which the displeasure of the Almighty could have visited him. On the contrary, the promise in question is given in answer to a request from Abraham to the Lord, that Ishmael might *live before Him*, and become the object of His favour: and it is given in terms manifestly designed to impart consolation to the Father of the Faithful, and to set his heart at rest respecting the future fortunes of his less favoured descendants. We are, therefore, compelled—if Mr. Forster's system is just—to imagine the Ruler of the world as comforting his honoured servant and *friend*, by declaring, that out of his family should arise the author of the most “*deadly and devastating apostasy*” that ever laid waste the faith and virtue of mankind—that among the posterity of Ishmael should be found a man, who would execute signal vengeance on the corrupt degraded seed of Isaac, both temporal and spiritual—one who, when the children of the truth had perverted their way, should give them, at the sword's point, *statutes that are not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*. If anything could have driven the faithful Abraham to despair, it must have been the knowledge of the species of fulfilment with which (according to this author,) it was in the mind of Jehovah to honour his own precious promises. At all events, had the prospect been fully disclosed to him, it would surely have pierced his heart with a sorrow, second only to that with which he must, at first, have received the command to sacrifice his only son, the child of promise and of miracle!

But there is another serious objection to this hypothesis. If Mahometanism is thus to be advanced almost to the rank of a Divine Dispensation, we must unavoidably go through with this principle, and follow it into all its consequences; and of these consequences it is not, perhaps, the least startling, that the scheme cannot be maintained without extending to nations, which

have no relation to the family of Abraham, the dignities and honours belonging to the race of Ishmael. For the case stands thus. It pleased the Almighty to establish two covenants, one with the son of the free-woman, the other with the son of the bond-woman. The former covenant was designed eventually to comprehend all who should embrace the revelation, of which the family of Isaac were to be the ministers, and who thus became, by spiritual adoption, heirs of the same promise. The covenant with the spurious son, if realized in the religion of Mahomet, must follow the same analogy; it must embrace all who conformed to that religion, and must convert them into spiritual descendants of the Arabian Patriarch. Persians, Afgans, Hindoos, Turks, Tartars and Negroes—all must be reckoned among the children of Hagar's offspring. The same liberal and gracious interpretation which converts all Christian believers into the Israel of God, must, by parity of reason, confer a corresponding privilege on the believers of Islam, from whatever tribe, or tongue, or nation they may be collected. While the true dispensation combines into a single family and household all the followers of the Messiah, the false dispensation is to do a similar and analogous office for all who enlist themselves under the banner of the Prophet. And if this view be correct, it compels us to regard Mahometanism, not as a gigantic positive evil, but as a sort of qualified and secondary good; not as one of the most fatal exhibitions of the spirit of Antichrist, but rather as a species of auxiliary power, destined eventually to prepare for the wider establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom; not as a heresy and a delusion which was to make the posterity of Ishmael the scourge of mankind, but rather as a covenanted blessing, combining the Moslemin of every nation under heaven into one vast brotherhood, who, like their spiritual forefather, were to *live before the Lord*.

To us, these objections appear absolutely insurmountable. It is beyond the power of human ingenuity to overcome or to evade them. Nothing more than a simple statement of them can be necessary, to show how utterly fatal they are to the hypothesis we are examining. Here, therefore, we might reasonably make our stand, and spare ourselves the labour of further investigation; in the confidence, that, whatever may have been the success of former efforts to dispose of the difficulties presented by the wonderful success of Mahomet, the present attempt is altogether inadmissible. It would be better to leave the doubtful points of the subject unsettled to the end of time, rather than to explain them by a supposition, which forces the Almighty on our thoughts as, in some sort, the contriver and the patron of religious imposture.

We are, nevertheless, tempted to proceed with our examination

of the author's work, by a desire of ascertaining whether the exigencies of the question are really such as to drive us into so strange a refuge from its difficulties. The author assures us that the permanency, and the completeness, of the Mahometan delusion are such as no operation of merely human or secondary causes can account for. Let us then consider, in the first place, whether this assertion is unquestionable; and, secondly, whether, even if admitted, it would force us to the conclusion, that the success of Islamism must be referred to the establishment of God's covenant with the Father of the Arabians.

And first, with regard to the permanency of Islamism, it is resolutely affirmed by Mr. Forster, that all former historians and divines have egregiously failed in their endeavours to explain it. The vehement tendency of mankind, he says, is towards the seductions of idolatry, which is constantly appealing to the senses; a naked and abstract theism, like that of Mahomet, contains within itself no principle of durability; we are consequently under the necessity of resorting to the special, if not the miraculous, aid of Omnipotence, as affording the only protection adequate to its preservation. Now to this argument there appears to be one obvious and irresistible reply:—The religion of Mahomet combines all the simplicity of deism, with most of the allurements of idolatry; and we are so far from regarding its permanency as conclusive evidence of an *overpowering* supernatural agency, that we can scarcely imagine a form of superstition more skilfully calculated to establish and to *retain* its dominion over uncivilized and uncultivated minds. Mr. Forster himself is perpetually urging its singular adaptation to the faculties of barbarians, who would be inaccessible to the pure and marvellous light of the Gospel. We can perceive nothing in the lapse of ages which tends to weaken this influence. The Moslem of the present day is taught, like his forefathers, to despise the Nazarenes, to detest and abominate the worshippers of wood and stone, and to believe that the main secret of holiness and salvation lies in the sentence,—that God is One, and that Mahomet is his Prophet. And what, we would ask, has any other religion on earth to offer as a bribe for the desertion of a faith which flatters at once the pride, the indolence, and the passions of its followers. Its theology, it is true, has branched out into endless subtilties; but these metaphysical refinements are the luxuries of the contemplative, not the daily bread of the vulgar. Its morality is, on the whole, most skilfully constructed with a view to secure the attachment of the faithful; for, on the one hand, it enjoins enough of austerity and self-denial to animate its followers by a constant accumulation of merit, without converting their law into a burden too heavy to be borne;

and, on the other hand, it allows a license to the voluptuous passions quite ample enough to reward the believer, and to secure him from the enchantments of any other faith. It further gratifies him with the notion—so dear to human self-importance—that he alone is the favourite of heaven, and that the rest of mankind are outcasts and aliens from the family of God!

But, then, we are reminded, with constant iteration, of the notorious and irresistible magic of an idolatrous faith. Idolatry was, for ages, found too strong even for the Law of Jehovah. The people who received their statutes from the hand of the Almighty himself, and who lived so long as the chosen people of the King of Kings, were nevertheless perpetually violating their allegiance to their heavenly Sovereign, and in spite of seer, or prophet, or signs from heaven, were incessantly polluting themselves by spiritual prostitution to other deities. How then, it is asked, are we to account for the inflexible fidelity of the Moslem to their first espousals? How, without the overpowering aid of Providence, could Mahomet have been able to accomplish that, which was too much even for Moses himself, though backed by a succession of inspired witnesses, and a series of stupendous preternatural agency? Now, in our turn, we might ask, how could such an argument as this ever be advanced by one who was familiar with the total diversity of circumstances which attended the rise and progress of the two religions? When the Lord set apart his people for himself, idolatry was the religion of the world. Look in what direction they would, they saw nothing but tribes who bowed before carved and graven images, and peopled their hills, their forests, and their streams, with tutelary deities. The temptation, therefore, assailed them from every quarter, and in every form, which could seduce a gross, sensual, and half-civilized race. They were surrounded on all sides by prosperous, refined and powerful communities, not one of which affected to make the Unity of God the basis of their popular creed. They were assailed with perpetual denunciations against the guilt and danger of corrupt worship, and yet they saw that neither fire nor tempest came down from heaven to consume or shake to pieces the grandeur of their idolatrous neighbours and adversaries. They, therefore, felt powerfully induced to follow after false deities, much in the same manner as they were prompted to demand a king to judge them,—namely, by the example of all the other nations with whom they were brought into intercourse, either by peace or war. They felt it as a positive disadvantage to be left without the patronage and the protection conferred on other countries by their liberal establishment of divinities; and hence

it was that, during so many ages, the patience of Jehovah was wearied by

————— “ the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah.”

In the days of Mahomet, on the contrary, the practice of idolatry had become, throughout the most enlightened portions of the globe, comparatively despicable and obsolete. The Arabs, it is true, had a fantastic, multiform, and fluctuating mythology of their own. But it is well known that these superstitions were very loosely worn; that they were held in decided subordination to the traditional belief in one Supreme God; that “ the flexible genius of their faith was ready either to teach or learn;” that “ each Arab was free to elect or to compose his own private religion;” and that “ the rude superstition of his house was mingled with the sublime theology of saints and philosophers.”* The polytheism of Arabia, in short, does not appear to have been, like that of classical heathenism, closely interwoven with the national institutions and polity. Idolatry had, there, incomparably weaker powers of resistance to innovation, than had belonged to it in Egypt, Italy, or Greece. And then, it must further be remembered, that the country, at that period, swarmed with witnesses against it. The Jews and Christians, the people of *the Book*, were in the midst of them. There was an element constantly at work to correct or neutralize their corruptions of the original and patriarchal faith, and to assist in bringing on the crisis which should enable the public mind to throw them off.

Such was the state of religious feeling and habit within the precincts of the Arabian community. If we look beyond those limits, we shall find nothing that could tend to support the cause of idolatry if assailed or undermined by some powerful principle from within. It is true that in that age, Christianity itself may be said to have adopted the costume and the practice, if not the creed, of idolatrous heathenism; but this very circumstance was of all others, perhaps, the best calculated to promote the designs of a revolutionist like Mahomet. Corrupt religion in those days was almost identified with Christianity in the estimation of the surrounding nations; and Christianity was associated in their minds with the images of feebleness and decay, inevitably suggested by the miserable and contemptible condition of the Greek empire. While, therefore, Christianity was virtually testifying *against* idolatry among themselves, it was, in other countries, by the spectacle of its own degeneracy, rendering all idolatrous propensities and habits at once despicable and infamous.

It may then, confidently, be maintained, that in the seventh

* Gibbon, c. 50.

century idolatrous superstition was no longer in a condition to perform the wonders which had rendered its dominion so absolute in periods of remote antiquity, or to baffle the enterprizes of an impostor, who would emulate it in bribing high the passions of his followers. Among the children of the desert themselves it was rude and barbarous, and confronted by the venerable traditions of a better faith, to which the Reformer might always triumphantly appeal. Abroad, it appeared in connection with the "*splendid weakness*" of an empire, which the world had long been looking upon at once with envy and with scorn. Succeeding ages presented absolutely nothing to allure the Moslems back to the corruptions of polytheism or image-worship. The system which they followed continued to afford the amplest gratification to their sensuality and their arrogance. They believed that it made them the reformers of the world. They knew and felt that it made them its conquerors. It provided them, in this life, with the highest excitements of victory and pleasure, and it tasked their imagination to figure the delights laid up for them in the next. If we survey the history of the world, from the days of their Prophet to the present hour, we shall look in vain for any form or variety of superstition, which has anything to offer in exchange for the faith of the fanatical, proud, voluptuous Musulman.

We may surely cease, then, to be surprised at the durability of Islamism, though we may reasonably wonder at the sagacity, or the good fortune, which constructed a system so calculated for permanency. We may likewise spare ourselves the trouble of searching more deeply for the causes of its intense influence over the minds of its disciples. A creed which ministers at once to the lusts and the self-importance of its votaries is, of all others that can be named or imagined, the most likely to bind men to its allegiance with a passionate fidelity. We may, accordingly, expect to find a faith like this equally triumphant among the ignorant savages of Africa, and the luxurious crowds of Cordova or Bagdad. Human motives and frailties alone might furnish a sufficient and intelligible explanation of such phenomena as these, and might relieve us from all temptation to dive, for their solution, into the abyss of God's mysterious providence.

If it be asked, whether we can venture altogether to exclude the Providence of God from all share in the establishment of Mahometanism, we reply, that we exclude his Providence from no one department of human agency. In a certain sense it is true, that all events, from the beginning to the end of time, are the result of his disposing or overruling power. The whole chain of causation is fixed to the throne of Omnipotence. We cannot therefore, without a feeling of impiety, *confine* our view to the operations of

secondary causes, when we are contemplating the history of any province of his creation. He may leave these causes to their natural and appropriate course of action,—or he may secretly and invisibly interfere to effect such occasional deviations from that course as his purposes may demand—or he may throw aside their services altogether, and interpose with an uplifted hand, and an outstretched arm, and with fury poured out. In whichever of these ways his moral government may at any time be carried on, it becomes us, when we meditate on the result, to refer all things to his Sovereign Will. But, nevertheless, it becomes us to preserve a most reverent sobriety of spirit, whenever we are inquiring to which manner of operation any peculiar series of occurrences is to be ascribed—whether to the ordinary—or the especial—or the miraculous agency of Providence. By our imperfect vision, the boundaries which separate these various modes of administration, are often but dimly and indistinctly discernible: and while we imagine that we are piously tracing the finger of God, we may, after all, be rashly following the meteor track of an excited and adventurous fancy.

For the purposes of this argument, however, we might be content that many of the phenomena of the Arabian arch-heresy should be ascribed to the workings of a special, but secret, Providence. Mahomet may, unquestionably, have been an instrument in the hand of God. There is nothing unreasonable or extravagant in the surmise, when humbly and cautiously entertained, that the Deity often compels impostors, and conquerors, and other pests of society, to minister to his designs of vengeance, or even of mercy; and that he effects this object by some direct but inscrutable influence upon the actions of men and the current of affairs. Sesostris and Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon, and a multitude of other selfish oppressors, may have been implements in the grasp of the Almighty. By their evil deeds it may have seemed fit to him to scourge the vices of mankind. From their vast capacities he may, unknown to the agents themselves, have extorted services which may, eventually, have improved the condition of the world. In this sense, it may possibly be true that the Arabian was an agent and minister of the Most High. Whatever may have been his own personal designs, whether beneficent or malicious, he may have been made powerfully instrumental in accomplishing the ends of God's moral government, and may therefore, perhaps, in the ardent language of faith and piety, be said to have been *ordained and raised up* for these very ends.

Again, it might be presumptuous for us to deny that the Mahometan imposture has been wholly without beneficial effects on

the fortunes of the human race. Incidentally and indirectly it may have effected, and may in future effect, more good than any mortal sagacity could ever have anticipated from so monstrous and impudent a delusion. The same, however, may be said of many other mighty movements, and appalling changes, which have occurred in the history of man. The French Revolution, for instance, was a convulsion which let loose all the most furious elements of human society to fight against the peace, the virtue, and the prosperity of Europe, "*e'en till destruction sickened.*" No one could have looked forward to it without unutterable dismay and bitterness of heart; no one can now look back upon it without earnestly deprecating the repetition of so frightful a calamity. But yet no Christian philosopher will ever think of questioning that it *may have* been a tornado by which a fatal corruption and pestilence was cleared from the moral atmosphere of the world. And if any one should choose to express this by saying that the French Revolution was, in a certain very qualified sense, a providential dispensation, it would, perhaps, be neither wise nor becoming to dispute the statement. Whenever we see what appears to be a portentous departure from the ordinary march of Providence, we are naturally impelled to suspect that the Supreme Disposer of human destinies may have put forth his might—that the Lord himself is in the whirlwind, the earthquake, or the fire. And if we close not our ears to the still small voice which follows these commotions, it may be well that we adore the footsteps of the Almighty in the tempest and the hurricane. Viewed in this light the sweep of Mahometan conquest may safely be regarded as the work of the God of battles, and the triumph of Mahometan imposture as the appointment of the God of truth. The establishment of Islamism is undoubtedly to be numbered among those stupendous events which have changed the face of society; and like all such mighty vicissitudes, it irresistibly invites us to solemn meditation on the unsearchable depths of the Divine Wisdom and Power.

But even if all this be granted, what will the concession do for the hypothesis of Mr. Forster? He contends, not only that the march of God's especial Providence is to be traced in the progress of this great revolution, but that it was positively ordained as the fulfilment of a solemn promise and covenant, delivered by the Almighty to one of his most distinguished saints between 2000 and 3000 years before. He is not satisfied with placing it in the same rank with the occasional appearance of vast and overruling minds, or with the rise and overthrow of illustrious dynasties; he insists on advancing it to a level very near to that on which we are accustomed to look for the other religious Dispen-

sations. It is not enough for him to maintain that Mahomet was an appointed instrument of heaven, in that general sense in which the same thing may be affirmed of Constantine or Charlemagne—of Columbus or Martin Luther; his scheme is much more adventurous than this; for, in many respects, it exalts Mahomet to a dignity nearly approaching that of a true prophet, whose mission is authentic, and whose inspiration is undoubted. Mahomet, he asserts, was as clearly and distinctly ordained to proclaim the *spurious* revelation, as Moses or Christ were ordained to promulgate the *genuine*. There is, according to him, no more doubt of a direct and immediate overruling agency in the one case than in the other. The Arabian stands in a relation to the founders of the true Dispensations, precisely similar to that in which Ishmael stood to Isaac; and his fortunes, as a prophet and a sovereign, were distinctly in the contemplation of the Deity, when he was predicting the greatness and prosperity of the two branches of the race of Abraham. Now this is a system of historical interpretation which, to our apprehension, is absolutely incredible. We reject it,—not because it exacts a belief in the irresistible Providence of God,—but because it compels us to think of Jehovah as *comforting* his servant with the promise of an atrocious impostor,—with the prospect of furious enmity between the spiritual posterity of his sons,—with a Covenant, of which one of the conditions was to be, that the bitterest persecutor and adversary of the true religion should be found among the descendants of the Father of the Faithful! To us, this view of the matter appears too monstrous to be gravely entertained for a moment. The triumphs of the Mahometan *Creed* may very possibly be connected with certain secret, mysterious, and gracious counsels of the Almighty; but we are fully persuaded they can have no reference whatever to his engagement with the forefather of the Arabs.

“The justice of God’s Providence,” says Mr. Forster, “in raising up Mahomet, *stands clear of impeachment*,” since the abominable perverseness of the Jews, and the corruption both of faith and manners in Eastern Christendom, “demanded, and deserved, precisely the infliction which the rod of a conquering heresiarch could bestow.” And who, in his right mind, ever dreams of *impeaching the Providence of God*, in raising up this, or any other, minister of heaven’s righteous displeasure? Who ever *impeaches the Providence of God*, in sending forth a Tamerlane, or a Genghiz Khan to desolate the earth? Who ever *impeaches his Providence*, when he suffers the blazing Star of Conquest to fall upon the earth, and to turn a third part of its waters

to bitterness and blood.* That the Sovereign of the World has wise and merciful purposes to accomplish by these dreadful dispensations, no pious or humble mind will ever presume to question. But what earthly aid can this consideration lend to the hypothesis, that the followers of Islam are, *as such*, the representatives of the Arabian patriarch? At the hazard of wearisome iteration, we repeat, again and again, that the Book and the Sword of the Arab *may*, for aught we can know, be compelled, by some secret and mysterious process, to minister to the happiness of mankind, and to render invaluable services to the cause of true religion and virtue. But let their *eventual* usefulness be what it may, it never can be such as to bring one of the deadliest powers of Antichrist into *covenant* with the Living God!

It is curious to observe how completely, in the honest ardour of dissertation, one part of the author's work appears to forget another. We have seen that he has described the Mahometan *superstition*, in no very measured terms, as "a *most deadly and devastating apostasy*;" and yet, in another passage, he gravely warns us against unqualified reprehension of the same superstition, or its author,—

"lest we should be found, in so doing, to cast reflections on the unerring Wisdom which has made their defects and demerits signally instrumental to guard the evidences, and proclaim the unrivalled supremacy, of the only true faith."

Why, this is language which would protect from reprobation all the most ruthless desolators and cheats that ever wearied the patience of man, or the long-suffering of Heaven! The Divine mercy and wisdom have graciously provided, that the blackest monsters of iniquity shall never inflict unmitigated evil on their species, and shall sometimes be the unwilling and unconscious pioneers to the march of general improvement; and, *therefore*, we are bound to speak of their enormities "with bated breath and whispering humbleness," lest, peradventure, we should be irreverently disparaging the chosen instruments of Providence! Surely we need hardly point out to a benevolent and grave divine the danger of bespeaking the forbearance of the world towards atrocity and fraud, in consideration of the beneficial results which Providence may, incidentally, extort from their abominations. Neither will it require much sagacity to perceive how utterly inapplicable all such reasoning is to the present case; for if the "defects and demerits" of this imposture were so signally instrumental in proclaiming, *by contrast*, the unrivalled supremacy of the true faith, why should those *demerits* be timidly or cautiously exposed?

* Rev. viii.

We know not how we can better illustrate our own views on this subject, than by reference to the Papacy—a subject which enters largely into the speculations of Mr. Forster. The Papal dominion is, unquestionably, a phenomenon of overpowering magnitude. It is difficult for us to contemplate it as falling within the trajectory of God's ordinary providence. We can hardly exclude from our conceptions of that gigantic spiritual empire, the notion of providential agency and interference. The Queen and Mother of Churches, we are apt to fancy, was surely *non sine diis animosa*. It may be safely granted, that there is something grand and awful in the spectacle of a mental supremacy, controlling the mutinous elements of society during the darkest period of barbarism, and potently interfering to prevent their rushing into ruinous and exterminating conflict. We envy not that man who can reflect, without emotions approaching to gratitude, on those noble foundations which formed the only retreats of learning, civilization, and charity, in a period of ignorance and brutality. We may acquiesce in the statement, that nothing less powerful than a spiritual autocracy could have saved the Christian world from being buried in the Serbonian bog of utter impiety. It may scarcely be too much to affirm, that the Papal Church, corrupt as it was, may fairly be regarded as the Ark which preserved the moral and spiritual life of Christendom from perishing in the deluge that so long overspread the face of the earth; and when we think of these things, it is, perhaps, natural and warrantable enough to express our *general* sense of them, by saying that the Papacy itself *was ordained* by Heaven for high and providential purposes. But what should we say of one who was not content with this emphatic, but general, reference to the overruling power of God,—of one who should insist on giving to the prophecies relating to it, an interpretation which would represent it, not as a threatened evil, but a promised good,—who should advance it to the dignity of a pre-ordained and *covenanted* blessing, and refer it to a fixed and gracious purpose of the Almighty? Should we not instantly remind such a commentator, that (in spite of its incidental benefactions to society) the Papacy, after all, is usually spoken of as one horn of Antichrist—as neither more or less than *the* Great Apostasy,—the Mystery of Iniquity,—the enchantment which, if it did not destroy the life of Christianity, at least transformed it to a semblance of idolatry and corruption? And should we not ask, how the Lord could be supposed to bind himself by a *covenant* to send such a prodigy into the world, and to give it almost the character and dignity of a Dispensation? Should we not fear to speak of the Eternal God as *stipulating* to establish an Antichristian power, which his own word of pro-

phcey describes as *the Mother of Harlots and abominations of the earth,—as the Woman drunken with the blood of the Saints, and with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus?*

If, then, we should start from the use of such language, as applied to the Papal tyranny and corruption, how can we venture upon similar language, when we are speaking of another portentous oppression and depravation of the true faith? How can we think of exalting one horn of Antichrist, with an honour, which we should scruple to bestow upon another? To say that each of them have been appointed to bear a distinguished part in the scheme of God's moral government, may be perfectly allowable, provided always that we abstain from attaching to this assertion more determinate notions than our limited insight into God's dealings can reasonably warrant. But what is there in the imposture of Mecca to justify us in referring it to a divine promise and covenant, when we should scruple to bestow a similar distinction on the imposture of Rome?

We have no expectation, indeed, that this view of the matter will have the effect of diminishing Mr. Forster's reliance on the soundness of his system: for he says expressly and confidently, that in Popery and Mahometanism

“Isaac and Ishmael are to be seen at the same time linked with, and enlisted against, one another; while a designed spiritual connection between the *covenants* is thus preserved through a period of 1200 years, in the history of a two-fold Antichristian tyranny, *catholic* and *heretical*—which, branching out at precisely the same point of time from the true Church, has continued to afflict Christendom, in the East and in the West, from the commencement of the seventh century to the present day.”—vol. i. p. 278.

We have here a complete apocalypse of the condition to which the enchantment of an hypothesis has brought the mind of the author. We have, first, the establishment of the true Church of Christ represented, and justly represented, as the fulfilment of the covenant with Isaac. But then, the true Church of *Christ* branches out into two *Antichristian* perversions: and these Antichristian perversions are disposed of, by making one of them the representative of Isaac, and the other the representative of Ishmael. We have, therefore, Isaac before us, *first* in the true and genuine Church; and *secondly*, in the Western Apostasy by which that Church was afflicted: and, lastly, we have Ishmael before us in the arch-heresy and imposture of the East, which is the persecutor and adversary of both: so that from the blessing of the original covenant with *Isaac*, there shoot out, in process of time, two heavy penal dispensations, which bear towards each other the same relation, as the two original branches of the cove-

nant with Abraham! By what process the author can have contrived to represent to his own mind so much perplexity and confusion, under an appearance of symmetry and order, it very far surpasses our capacity to comprehend. We are therefore quite unable to render any assistance to such of our readers as may feel themselves disposed to penetrate into the merits of his system.

But whatever may be our speculation on this matter, the authority of prophecy, Mr. Forster will tell us, is irresistible; and to that authority he confidently appeals. He accordingly begins with an examination of the promises to Abraham, as they relate, respectively, to Isaac and to Ishmael; and these promises suggest to him the following general reasoning:—A covenant is entered into with the patriarch Ishmael; Ishmael, as well as Isaac, is a son of faithful Abraham, the friend of God; and the promise to Ishmael is given in answer to the prayer of Abraham; it must *therefore* have both a *spiritual* and temporal aspect, as well as the promise to Isaac. The latter promise had a *temporal* fulfilment in the establishment of Israel in Canaan; and a *spiritual* fulfilment in the advent of the Messiah, and the establishment of the Gospel. The appearance and success of Mahomet did the same thing for the descendants of Ishmael, by giving them, first, a temporal, and secondly, a spiritual dominion over a vast portion of mankind: so that the *lie* of Mahomet is to occupy, in the map of the providential dispensations, the same position with respect to the *truth* of Christ, that the *spurious* Ishmael does with respect to the *legitimate* Isaac! It never seems to have occurred to Mr. Forster, that, on the very face of his statement, the presumptions which the case affords, are in direct opposition to his hypothesis. The seed of Isaac was, indisputably, the object of the divine favour; it might therefore be naturally supposed, that for this seed the higher blessings would be reserved. In Abraham were all the families of the earth to be blessed; and if any distinction at all were to be made between the sons of Abraham, it might be anticipated that the intended benediction would be conveyed, not through the spurious, but through the legitimate race; that the more exalted and heavenly privileges would more peculiarly be appropriated to the offspring of the free woman, while earthly and temporal advantages *alone* would be the portion allotted to the progeny of the slave. Such appears to us to be the natural and almost irresistible presumption—a presumption which negatives, at once, the propriety of seeking for a spiritual accomplishment of the promise, in the destinies of the inferior family. But though Mr. Forster is blind to this obvious presumption, his vision is singularly keen when he comes to examine the language of the covenant itself, and enables

him to discover in its phraseology a conclusive establishment of his scheme.

In Mr. Forster's view of these promises, the first thing that strikes us is the prodigious and giddy superstructure, which he endeavours to raise upon ground that is ready to open and swallow up the works that rest upon it. Abraham, we are told, in the natural fervour of parental love, said unto God, *O that Ishmael might live before thee*—a prayer to which the *consoling* answer is—*As for Ishmael I have heard thee*: and then follows the promise concerning him, which is afterwards repeated with this remarkable addition, *And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed*. It appears, therefore, says Mr. Forster, adopting the commentary of Origen on this passage, that the patriarch was not content with asking simply that his son *might live*, but adds the condition of life which he desired for him, *that he might live before God*; and to live before God, says the father of Scripture criticism, is the portion only of the blessed, and of his saints. And what follows from this consolatory interpretation? Why, that, as the covenant with Isaac, though predominantly spiritual, contains the express promise of a temporal blessing, so the covenant with Ishmael, while predominantly temporal, must contain a real, though low and subordinate, spiritual application. And what was the fulfilment of this spiritual promise? Neither more nor less than the establishment of a faith—which Mr. Forster himself shall describe.

“Christ Jesus,” he says, in contrasting the two founders and their two religions, “was infinitely holy, pure, and perfect—Mahomet, earthly, sensual, devilish, beyond even the license of his own licentious creed: Christianity, the religion of sanctity, of meekness, and of peace—Mahometanism, the religion of sensuality, of pride, of violence: these most opposite characteristics but suffice to expose and fulfil the opposition, which prophecy, from first to last, had expressly marked out between the two covenants, and the two brethren. Isaac, the child of the Spirit, is here seen to give birth to a spiritual faith; Ishmael, the child of the flesh, to a carnal superstition. The son of the *freewoman*, rightfully and appropriately, introduces into the world a religion of liberty; the son of the *bondwoman*, not less appropriately and rightfully, establishes upon earth a religion of bondage. In a word, Isaac, the legitimate seed, becomes the father of the true faith; Ishmael, the illegitimate, of a spurious imitation of it.”—vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

Such is the *consoling* accomplishment of the promise, that Ishmael and his posterity *should live before God*! Such the spiritual distinction which awaited the son of the bondwoman, because he was the seed of Abraham! A bloody and voluptuous superstition

is the *crown of rejoicing* laid up for him, who was to be honoured with the portion of the blessed and the just!

Again—*In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*, was the peculiar promise of God to Abraham, concerning his only son Issac; and the terms of the *corresponding* promise respecting Ishmael are, *He shall dwell in the face of all his brethren*. Now, (says Mr. Forster) let these apparently co-extensive predictions receive their interpretation from the histories of Christianity and Mahometanism, as their respective fulfilments. He then, accordingly, pursues the comparison of the two faiths throughout the range of their respective histories, and he finds that they are frequently confronted as rivals or antagonists; that, sometimes, they stand in violent contrast with each other; and that, at other times, they are distinguished by remarkable analogies and similitudes: but, let what will happen, he never fails to discern a fulfilment of the above prediction. Correspondence or opposition alike contribute, in the author's judgment, to show that Ishmael has always *dwelt in the face of all his brethren*; and to prove, that as the better covenant of Isaac was fulfilled by the advent of Christ, so the lower covenant of Ishmael had its parallel accomplishment in the rise of Mahomet. We hardly know how to dispose of such speculation as this, otherwise than by producing it, and leaving it to the judgment of our readers. Understood with reference to the temporal fortunes of the Arabs, the prophecy is intelligible enough. It may fairly be supposed to indicate that they should be able to maintain their independence in the face of the world, and to set at defiance all attempts to reduce them to permanent subjection. It may, perhaps, be further allowed to point at something beyond this, and to indicate that untameable and enterprising spirit which confronted the Saracens with the most powerful and civilized nations on the face of the globe. But we are utterly at a loss to assign to these words any satisfactory or definite signification, as applied to the history of the Mahometan religion. That religion, it is true, has been brought into perpetual conflict with the religion of Christ; but no circumstance, surely, would be more unlikely than this to form the subject of a gracious and consoling promise to the forefather of the Israel of God. That the descendants of the bondwoman should be free and victorious, might be a legitimate source of exultation to the parents of the outcast lad. But that their country should become the nursery of a superstition which would not only be brought into conflict with Christianity, but almost threaten it with extermination, could excite nothing but anguish and horror. At all events, the words in question are much too narrow to support a fabric of such enormous breadth and elevation: and the scheme

of Mr. Forster—(as it appears to us)—is about as hopeful as to attempt erecting the pyramids on the bridge of Al Sirât.

But then, it may be asked, has the spiritual dominion founded by Mahomet never been the subject of prophecy? To which we reply, that we make no question whatever of its having been predicted;—and predicted, too, in terms which are utterly subversive of the hypothesis of Mr. Foster. Turn, for instance, to the ninth chapter of the Apocalypse, which by general consent is allowed to refer to the rise and progress of Islamism, and meditate on the figures by which the Holy Ghost has been pleased to pourtray to us this spiritual prodigy. We find there that the bottomless pit is opened,—that there issues from it a smoke which darkens the air,—and that locusts come forth from the smoke, destructive and venomous as scorpions. And then follows a description of these swarms from the pestilential vapour, which conveys the notion of tremendous power, and is always understood to indicate a spiritual, quite as emphatically, or rather more so, than a temporal desolation. Are we then to believe that these Apocalyptic pests were sent in conformity with the promise to execute the gracious covenant of Jehovah with Abraham? That covenant, be it never forgotten, was conferred as a boon upon the patriarch, and designed to comfort him respecting the fate of his spurious child. Is it credible, then, that such a covenant could receive its fulfilment in the establishment of a spiritual domination so terrific, and so wasteful, that inspiration itself appears almost to labour for images which may adequately represent it?

We feel ourselves relieved from all necessity of following Mr. Forster in his journeyings throughout the regions of prophecy, which he explores for evidence of his favourite position: for if his interpretations of these portions of Scripture were, without exception, accurate, it would not advance him a single step towards the establishment of his scheme. Both Daniel and St. John may have described to the life the temporal and the spiritual achievements of Mahomet, but this will never connect his success, as a *religious impostor*, with the promises of God to the original founder of his tribe. It may have been the result of Providential arrangement, that this “planetary plague” was permitted to hang over the “high-iced” generations of mankind, and to blot out from many portions of the globe the light of the Gospel, of which they were unworthy: but it may very safely be affirmed that the revelation of such a *penal* infliction can never have entered into a transaction marked with mercy and condescension. Had there been no prophetic Scriptures but the narrative of this covenant, we should, most assuredly, have been without any revealed inti-

mation that the Arabian superstition had entered into the system of providential appointments.

With regard to the language of this promise to the son of Hagar, no sober-minded interpreter of Scripture could be at a moment's loss to discern its true interpretation. Ishmael was to be a wild man, that is, (as the original imports) a man of a fierce and headstrong spirit, and untameable as a wild ass. His hand was to be against every man, and every man's hand against him; a phrase admirably descriptive of the warlike and predatory habits of the Bedouin, whose life is a perpetual scene of aggression or defence. He was to dwell in the presence of all his brethren; in other words, he was to laugh at the efforts of all mankind to destroy his independence. He was, moreover, to become the father of twelve princes, and to grow into a great nation: a prediction amply verified in the condition of the Arabian tribes, in the ages previous to the appearance of Mahomet, considered merely as possessors of the Arabian peninsula, and as powerful enough to defy the arms of Persia, Macedonia, and Rome. If, therefore, we were to stop here, history would supply us with ample testimony to the truth of these prophetic scriptures. We are, however, not afraid to accompany Mr. Forster to a point considerably beyond this; and to allow that the prediction, considered as a promise of temporal dominion, may have found a further splendid fulfilment, in the stupendous range of Saracenic conquest, which, in eighty years, embraced a wider extent of territory than Rome had mastered in the course of eight hundred. Neither are we deterred from this concession by the circumstances, that the history of the Califates embraces a considerable period illustriously distinguished for wealth, refinement, and intelligence. In some regions of the globe, and under certain peculiar circumstances, *the wild man* became, for a time, a civilized and luxurious being, the patron of the arts, and the votary of science. But this partial and temporary *cicuration* could do absolutely nothing towards obliterating the general features impressed by prophecy on the Saracenic tribes. The spirit of the Saracen has, under all superficial changes, been essentially and indelibly the same. The impetuous and indomitable temper of the child of the desert was shown in the portentous rapidity of his victories. Whether in the land of Sinaar, or in the vallies of Spain, his history was that of one continued assault on the peace and liberty of mankind. He was armed against the world; and the world—(too often in vain)—was armed against him; till at last the sun of his glory declined, and the descendant of Ishmael has relapsed into the fierce and unreclaimed man of the wilderness, the living and unchangeable witness to the words of the

Almighty. And if it be demanded, how the God of peace and mercy could promise, as a blessing, a career of grandeur attended by calamity and bloodshed?—the reply must be, that such is the inevitable condition of all national greatness and prosperity. In the fallen state of this world, supremacy and dominion are hardly to be achieved but by the iron tread and flaming right hand of conquest. To make a nation great and mighty, *merely* by the arts of peace, would require nothing less than a series of miraculous agency almost unprecedented in the history of man. A prediction of aggrandizement, unavoidably implies the use of those means by which communities become great and powerful: and there is, consequently, nothing inconsistent with the usual dealings of God, in supposing him to make the promise of worldly might and glory to the Saracenic dynasties which were to spring from Ishmael.

In proceeding, however, thus far with Mr. Forster, we have gone to the very utmost limit of concession. We can imagine the God of battles declaring the future success of a race of warriors, and relieving the despair of an anxious parent by proclaiming that his posterity should rank among the illustrious of the earth. But we are wholly unable to reconcile ourselves to the thought of the God of truth sustaining the drooping spirits of Abraham and Hagar by an assurance, which was to be realized by the success of an odious and shameless deception. And we, accordingly, conclude that, whatever may be the position which the faith of Mahomet occupies in the scheme of the divine counsels, it has no pretensions whatever to be considered as the fulfilment of the Ishmaelitish covenant. The Lord may, possibly, stipulate with his servants for an ample measure of secular advantage and distinction; but it is perfectly incredible that he should bind himself by *engagements* that require spiritual fraud and delusion for their accomplishment. “*A spurious travesty of the Mosaic revelation*” never can have been among the blessings and honours which Omnipotence was pledged to bestow upon the father of the Arabs.

But though we are persuaded that the *religion* of Mahomet has no more connection with this celebrated covenant than the religion of Buddh, or the Braminical superstition, we can hardly regret that the belief of some relation between them has for a time got possession of Mr. Forster’s imagination. There is nothing like an hypothesis to make a man master at least of all the information connected with a subject. Mr. Forster accordingly has gallantly mounted his hypothesis, and a weary and perilous excursion it has taken him,

“O’er bog and steep, through strait, rough, dense, and rare.”

It has, however, enabled him to exhibit a great variety of interesting views of the Arabian apostasy, and its effects on human society. It has given him heart and spirit for a more complete survey of it, throughout all its stages and in all its operations, than a more unimpassioned inquirer might have been tempted to execute; and among other services to which it has impelled him, is the very important one of establishing beyond all controversy the fact, which the odious flippancy of Gibbon has affected to dispose of in a few sarcastic sentences, namely, the descent of a large portion of the Arabian tribes from the son of Hagar.

The dissertation which relates to this question is thrown by Mr. Forster into an Appendix, which our space forbids us to insert, and which it is not very easy to abridge. The outline of the argument, however, is as follows:—

1. The Mosaic account records the parentage, birth, and settlement of Ishmael in Arabia, together with the promises that he should become a great nation, and with exact delineations of the character and habits of his descendants. It likewise gives us the births, names, and settlements of his sons as princes (or emirs) in the same country,* not merely as fathers of families, but as founders of powerful tribes.

2. The books of the Old Testament, written as they were at distant intervals of time and place, contain various incidental and evidently unstudied references to the tribes of Arabia as descending from Ishmael, and bearing the names of his several sons—an irresistible proof that this genealogy was for a series of ages a matter of unquestioned and universal notoriety.† If, therefore, this descent is fabulous, we must believe that the authors of the Old Testament have conspired through a succession of centuries, in the transmission of a profitless and unmeaning falsehood.

3. Josephus, in his Antiquities,‡ mentions that “the Arabians administer circumcision at the close of the thirteenth year, since *Ishmael, the founder of their nation*, the son of Abraham by a concubine, was circumcised at that time of life.” Now it must be remembered, that this passage is introduced merely as an incidental historical notice, in a manner which bespeaks a total unconsciousness of its being applicable to any controversial use. The fact is referred to as undoubted and notorious; and proves, beyond all dispute, that the practice in question was a national

* Gen. xxv. 12. 16.

† Is. lx. 7; xlii. 11; xxi. 11. 14. 16, 17. Ezek. xxvii. 21. Ps. cxx. 5. Job, vi. 19. Jerem. xxv. 23; xlix. 23. 31.

‡ Lib. I. c. x. § 5, p. 26. Ed. Hudson.

rite, which preserved to them the memory of their descent from Abraham.

A similar indirect and unpremeditated testimony is given by Origen, who states that “the nations of Judæa generally circumcise their children on the eighth day; but the *Ishmaelites, who inhabit Arabia*, universally practise circumcision in the thirteenth year; for this,” he adds, “history tells us concerning them,” (τοῦτο γὰρ ἱστορεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν)*: thus showing that the Arabian tradition respecting the genealogy of the nation was not considered as a questionable matter at the beginning of the third century.

4. In another passage of Josephus, it is plainly intimated, that the Arabian tribes derived from Ishmael were, in his time, severally known and distinguished by the names of those sons of Ishmael who were their respective progenitors; and the same fact is abundantly authenticated by subsequent authorities.

5. The very idolatry of the Arabs appears to have been connected with the immemorial tradition of their origin; for when Mahomet took Mecca, in the eighth year of the Hejra, he found in the Caaba an image of Abraham, holding in his hand seven headless arrows for divination, and surrounded by figures of other deities and prophets, among whom, as some of their writers add, was that of Ishmael.

Now we should be glad to learn how we are to reconcile with the above facts the impudent assertion of Gibbon, that the legend of their Ishmaelitic origin was first introduced among the Arabs by the Jewish exiles and early Christian missionaries, who diffused the Hebrew Scriptures over the Peninsula. “The Bible,” he tells us, “was already translated into the Arabic language; and the volume of the Old Testament,” he further tells us, “was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarch, they were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation; and they imbibed with equal credulity the prodigies of the Holy Text, and the dreams of the Jewish Rabbis.” So that we are to assume the existence of an Arabic version in those times, of which version not a trace or a fragment is now to be found: we are further to believe that a whole people would instantly and greedily receive a fabulous account of their own original, upon the *sole* authority of a volume till then unknown: that, till the century immediately preceding the Christian æra, they remained wholly unconscious of their Abrahamic genealogy; but that, from that time to the present hour, their connection with the ancient worthies of the Hebrew Scriptures has been matter of universal and indelible persuasion. They were infinitely de-

* Orig. in Gen. Op. tom. ii. p. 16. Ed. Ben.

lighted and flattered, we are to suppose, with the thoughts of being connected with the father of God's people; and yet they persisted without interruption in a mode of worship condemned by every page of the volume which, for the first time, disclosed to them their boasted and inestimable pedigree. If any one can believe this, all that can be said of him is, that he supplies us with one more instance of the voracious credulity of the sceptic.

But then, it is said, the Bedouins, though very careful of the pedigree of their horses, are extremely negligent of their own. And what then? The Jews have utterly lost their pedigrees: and yet, who ever dreams of questioning their descent from Isaac?

It is impossible to resist the opportunity, which here offers itself, of exposing another instance of effrontery on the part of the historian. He tells us, that the independence of the Arabs has been converted by the arts of controversy into a prophecy and a miracle,* in favour of the posterity of Ishmael; and adds, that "some exceptions, which can neither be dissembled nor eluded, render this mode of reasoning as indiscreet as it is superfluous. The kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the Sultans of Egypt, and the Turks; Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia embraced the particular wilderness in which Ishmael and his sons must have pitched his tents in the face of their brethren." Having thus contemptuously scattered the seeds of doubt over the subject, he proceeds, with matchless composure, to the qualifying statement, which must sweep them away, in a moment, from every ingenuous mind. "The exceptions—(he confesses)—were temporary or local; the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies; the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia; the present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack!" Now what *believer* in this prophecy, we demand, would ever look for a more complete and exact fulfilment of it, than that which the *unbeliever* himself has here described to our hand? Had it been the object of Gibbon to illustrate and confirm the authority of Scripture, instead of undermining and destroying it, how could he have produced a more powerful statement of the case? By what infatuation could it have entered his head, that by this representation he was pouring contempt on the prediction? Here are centuries upon centuries of freedom, varied only by insignificant and partial interruptions, just sufficient to show the impossibility of any

* C. 50.

permanent impression on the independence of the country. How, then, could the word of prophecy receive a more triumphant accomplishment? And how utterly disgraceful must be that perversion of mind, which could hope to extort, from such a course of events, a testimony to the dishonour of Revelation!

We are, however, reminded in the next sentence, that “the obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs;” “that the patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nourished in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life;” &c. &c. And what, if this be so? What, if we concede that neither oracle nor prophet were needed to foretell, that the inhabitant of the desert would be lawless and untamed as the wild ass? We then ask, who was to point out, without the spirit of prophecy, the family destined to possess the desert, or at least to become great and powerful there? That a land like Arabia would be safe from permanent subjection might, possibly, fall within the reach of human conjecture; but who was to divine that Ishmael and his tribes were to inherit this nursery of wildness and of liberty? It might, perhaps, have indicated no absolutely superhuman sagacity, if St. Dunstan or Thomas à Becket had pronounced, that England would become, in the course of ages, the greatest naval power in the history of the world. But we should have thought them both prophets indeed, had the one foretold the Norman Conquest, or the other the accession of the House of Brunswick.

The case with regard to Ishmael stands thus: the Supreme Disposer of all human fortunes pronounced that his should be a wild and independent race: and He placed them in a land most eminently fitted to produce and perpetuate that character. And yet none but that same Disposer could ever have presumed to declare, that the family of Ishmael would so predominate and flourish in that soil, as to testify to all future ages, that they were there by the appointment of a sovereign and overruling Providence; by the ordinance of Him who condescended to enter into covenant with the common father of the Hebrews and the Saracens.

One cannot contemplate without disgust and indignation, the insidious levity with which the sneering Sadducee has, in these instances, trifled with the evidences of history. Nothing can well be imagined more contemptible,—unless, perhaps, it be his partiality for the imposture of Mahomet; compounded as that partiality is of godless pride and prurient imagination. Everything good in the system of the Arabs, arms the historian with means of craftily disparaging the Gospel; everything sensual in it, bribes his impure and vicious fancy. He seems to chuckle over the

thought, that if the enterprise of Abderahme had succeeded, "the pulpits of Oxford might demonstrate to a *circumcised* people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet:" though he is pleased to doubt whether the Oxford Mosch would have produced a volume of controversy so elegant and ingenious as the Bampton Lectures of Dr. White. One thing the *Oxford Mosch* most assuredly would not have produced; and that is, an avowedly infidel historian of the Roman Empire! The true believers, as Mr. Forster justly remarks, have no bowels of mercy for scepticism, however refined or philosophic.* The discipline of Islam denounces for destruction all who deny the doctrines of a resurrection and a Providence. The Ulema have an awkward maxim, which might have been too much even for the courage of the Captain of the Hampshire militia;—namely—*occidatur Sadducæus neque acceptetur ab eo penitentia*. Instead, therefore, of the shameless and self-sufficient scorner, we might probably have had an orthodox, decorous, and perhaps intolerant Mussulman philosopher; every hair of whose beard would have been up in holy insurrection, at blasphemies against the Prophet, and his "*perspicuous and uncreated*" book.

There is no region of inquiry connected with his subject which appears to have more powerful charms for the author, than the religious wars of the middle ages. We rejoice that this interesting subject has fallen within the range of his disquisition, since it affords him, once more, an opportunity of exposing and chastising the contemptuous scepticism of the infidel historian. Every one remembers the perverse delight with which that scoffer labours to disparage, not only the motives and the policy in which those enterprises begun, but the signal benefits which they *eventually* conferred upon Europe. We cannot present to our readers the detail of reasoning and investigation by which Mr. Forster arrives at a conclusion more creditable to these prodigious eruptions of human energy. We are unable, indeed, to adopt, in its fullest

* The way in which the Mussulman divines are in the habit of dealing with scepticism, may be curiously illustrated by their rule of proceeding with a certain sect of infidels or heretics known by the name of Lâdri (a term which signifies *Nescio*). Their process with such persons is remarkably simple. They prepare a gridiron with a brisk fire under it; they then propound to the doubtful man the question, *whether fire will burn?* If he says, "*I don't know*," they seat him on the gridiron, and repeat the question. If he answers, that it *does*, they immediately withdraw him from the flames, somewhat damaged, perhaps, in the epidermis, but entirely cured of his pyrrhonism, and therefore, on the whole, much the better for the experiment. If, however, he persists in saying "*I don't know*," they suffer him to remain. For how can he complain of being broiled alive, who protests that he is by no means certain whether or not the process is disagreeable? A similar expedient might have saved the world a prodigious amount of nonsense from the schools of classical stoicism!

extent, his persuasion, that the leaders of these enterprises were prompted to their exertions wholly by a wise foresight,—by a distinct prospect of the ruin impending over Christendom,—or by an intelligent conviction that Europe must be precipitated into Asia, as the only means of driving back the approaching tide of devastation. We are afraid that a wild and ignorant fanaticism was more instrumental, than Mr. Forster is willing to allow, in communicating to the public mind its portentous and uncontrollable momentum. On the other hand, however, we apprehend, that, humanly speaking, the deliverance of the Christian world may, in a considerable measure, be ascribed to those colossal efforts. It is difficult to imagine that anything less than an upheaving of the social system from its very depths, could have brought into action the powers and resources which the crisis demanded. It can scarcely be doubted, that by these religious *coalitions*, the fate of the Greek empire was suspended for three centuries, and Europe preserved from the loss of freedom and religion. But for the enthusiasm of the crusaders, the empire of Turkish brutality and barbarism might, at this moment, be oppressing the faculties and the liberty of mankind from the Euphrates to the northern seas. It would therefore be absolutely ungrateful to turn a scornful eye on the almost miraculous self-devotion which turned back so frightful an inundation. The value of the respite thus obtained—as Mr. Forster observes—has indeed been long and generally felt.

“As Europe was situated in the eleventh and two succeeding centuries, human means could have availed her nothing, had Constantinople and the Hellespont been overpast: as Europe was constituted in the fifteenth century, the event has shown that she had nothing to fear from the arms of Mahomet II.”—vol. ii. p. 160.

In his progress to this conclusion, the author has been evidently animated, at every step, by the evidences with which the inquiry seemed to furnish him in support of his system. From the battle of Yermuk to that of Dorylæum, and thenceforward, through the whole period of the crusades to the end of the thirteenth century, he seems to fancy himself in the midst of a cloud of testimony to the truth of his speculations. Everywhere he beholds Isaac and Ishmael engaged in mortal conflict, and fulfilling the prediction, that the hand of the wild man should be against every man, and every man's hand against him. In every step, too, of the march of these stupendous events, he is able most distinctly to trace the hand of Omnipotence. From the *providential* character of the holy wars, he perceives a direct and obvious transition to the grand providential connection between the true religion and

the false, or—(to state the inference still more fully in his own words)—

“ following the progress of these great events, contemplated as parts of the great providential administration of the world, we ascend, in the natural order of things, from the Saracenic and Latin holy wars, to Christianity and Mahometanism, the two religions systems from whose collision they arose ;—from Christianity and Mahometanism, again, to their respective sources, the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael, and to the prophetic opposition between these brethren ;—from Isaac and Ishmael, lastly, to the original twofold covenant of God with Abraham his servant.”—vol. ii. p. 171.

Here, again, we have a marvellous exhibition of the seven-leagued strides with which the magic of an hypothesis often carries its rider over the ground ! Christianity and Islamism are in desperate conflict with each other for three centuries : the founders of these two faiths belong to the posterity of Isaac and of Ishmael ; and therefore we must refer their deadly strife to the *covenant* of God with the sire of these two patriarchs ! It is needless to reiterate the fatal objection to this most fantastic reasoning, if reasoning it can be called. Nothing further can be necessary than once more to remind the reader that, in the first place, there can be no sufficient warrant for extending the application of the promise beyond the temporal fortunes of the two families and their descendants ; and secondly, that such an interpretation requires that all the various nations who embraced the faith of the prophet should be spiritually identified with the race of Ishmael ; a fancy which, for reasons stated above, we conceive to be wholly inadmissible.

But this is not the full extent of Mr. Forster's perspicacity. He not only connects the struggle between the Gospel and the Koran with the Divine promises, but he sees in the very perversions of the Gospel a positively providential arrangement. He has succeeded in persuading himself, that these perversions were most critically seasonable ; since, for the time, they so completely obliterated the peaceful character of Christ's religion, as to convert it into a religion of the sword ; and this purely in order that it might be in readiness to contend with an adversary, the weapons of whose warfare were carnal and sanguinary. Isaac, the man of peace, in short, must be changed into a warrior, in order that he may be in a condition to grapple with his wild and ferocious brother. The author seems to derive so much honest gratification from this train of thought, that we feel almost reluctant to interrupt or molest him in the prosecution of it. Yet, we must ask him, whether he can think it safe or becoming, to venture upon a labyrinth of speculation in which all human sagacity

must soon be bewildered and lost? If views of this description be warrantable, there is no calamity that can befall mankind—no extremity of physical suffering, or moral degradation—that may not be placed as it were under the special patronage of Providence. Abuses, it may be said, become providential, when they cry so loudly as to awaken the slumbering energies of the world. Tyranny is providential when it provokes revolution. Revolution is providential, when its excesses drive men back again to order and submission. Even religious perversion is providential, when it exchanges the armour of light for the sword and shield of a fleshly warfare, and goes forth to repel the assault of some apostasy still more abominable and destructive than itself. Such are the prodigies we must expect to encounter when we wander into regions forbidden to mortal enterprize or wisdom.

That the ruin of Christendom may have been averted by the Crusades is, as we have conceded, highly probable, if not absolutely certain. But Mr. Forster is not satisfied with contending, in general terms, for this result. He fancies that he can distinctly trace the working of Providence throughout the whole series of phenomena involved in those astonishing and convulsive efforts; and here it is that he appears to us to rush in, where we are not sure that even angels are allowed to tread. One formidable objection to this license of speculation—this almost officious forwardness to vindicate the ways of Providence—is, that it may expose to the attacks of the caviller and the scorner an indefensible length of line, or may place us in a position in which our flank is liable to be turned. There is no imaginable sequence of occurrences, in which a powerful imagination, exalted by an ardent religious temperament, may not discern a providential march and procession. To illustrate this, let us revert, once more, to the Crusades, which Mr. Forster is assured were providentially ordained for the preservation of Christendom, by the only means adequate to that effect, namely, the prodigal, and apparently insane, outpouring of European strength into the heart of Asia. Now let us imagine the case to have been different. Let us suppose that Peter the Hermit had failed—that the Christians had resisted the infection of his enthusiasm—that they had been persuaded by some better disciplined mind, carefully to accumulate their powers, and to prepare themselves in their own country to meet and roll back the torrent of invasion—and that this policy had been eventually successful. We should then, no doubt, have been told, that the gracious providence of God had manifestly overruled the rashness and fanaticism of man; that the force of Europe was, happily, consolidated and concentrated at home, instead of being wasted and dissipated in distant, fruitless, and

indecisive undertakings; and that the Christian world was thus, almost by miracle, rescued from the ruinous impulses of an ungovernable zeal!

Again and again, we earnestly desire not to be misunderstood. The eye of Providence is, beyond all question, constantly over the whole course of this world; the hand of Providence is, no less indisputably, in frequent, direct, and beneficial, but *invisible* operation, to give the current of events that precise direction which tends to the safety of the whole system and the accomplishment of the greatest good. But here we feel that it becomes human blindness and feebleness to stop. We cannot but remember that the Lord, though mighty in operation, is verily a God that hideth himself. He rideth on the wings of the wind; but what mortal eye can presume to follow and to track his *goings forth*? Who among the sons of men can look upon the seemingly pathless expanse of his administration, and say, that upon this spot, and upon that, have been the footsteps of the Almighty? What is there, except the most *direct* and intense illumination of prophecy, that can enable us to point out the exact *localities* in the orbit of his moral government, at which the arm of the Lord hath been manifestly and specially revealed?

We may possibly render our views more intelligible by a brief reference to the harmony and order of the physical creation. We are taught by science that the forces which rule our system are so wonderfully and critically adjusted, that all its irregularities are limited and periodical, and that thus they are, eventually, *self-corrected*. But it is very easy to imagine the case to have been otherwise. Let us, then, make that supposition; and conceive that the power of gravitation had followed a different law from that which has actually been ordained: it is demonstrable that, in such a case, the complicated actions of the various disturbing forces would have been such as to require an occasional re-adjustment of the system. The mechanism would then have been without any self-correcting power; and the action of Omnipotence would have been repeatedly required to preserve the whole from confusion and ultimate ruin. It might, perhaps, be far beyond the resources of science, to point the exact stations at which such *special* interference had been employed in times past, or would be absolutely needed in time to come; and therefore it would be vain and presumptuous for us to say precisely where the second causes had been left to themselves, and where they had been aided or partially overruled. We should content ourselves with the persuasion, that, between the ordinary superintendence and the special interposition, the combination would be, as it had ever been, kept from fatal discord and disorder. Such, in

the case we have imagined, would be our views respecting the *Divine Providence*, in the preservation of the planetary system. But even in that state of things, if the sun were to stand still in Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, then should we be quite certain, that the invisible hand of God had been laid upon the movements, and had controlled them for the purpose of displaying his sovereignty and glory.

Now this supposition relative to the *physical* universe, may, perhaps, in some degree illustrate the *moral* dealings of Providence. The course of this world may, in general, be left to obey the ordinary impulse of second causes, (always under the survey of that eye which neither slumbereth nor sleepeth.) The Sovereign Disposer may have made it a part of his original scheme to interpose, wherever those unaided second causes are insufficient for the completion of his purposes; but then, our *science* is unable to fix, with any certainty, upon the points or stages, in the career of events, at which such interference has taken place. And therefore it is, that we cannot contemplate, without certain misgivings, the researches of what may be called the *religious philosophy of history*; whose object is to determine and to mark out, by a broad and visible line, the very path of that special agency. Unless the light of prophecy shines with a burning splendour upon the spot, or the hand of the Almighty has been displayed in signs and wonders that overpower all mistrust, we never can precisely fix upon the scene of a *special* providence; and therefore our best wisdom is, to content ourselves with the general conviction, that *all things work together for good*.

Mr. Forster devotes two ample chapters to a consideration of the services rendered by *Mahometanism*, or at least by *Mahometans*, to the cause of civilization and of literature. We have room to do no more than to recommend these chapters to the attentive study of our readers, as forming, together with those on the Crusades, the most valuable, interesting, and instructive portion of his volumes. The picture, perhaps, is rather gorgeously coloured; and the dimensions may be somewhat larger than life. But nevertheless it is a representation which cannot be contemplated without enriching our understanding and enlarging our charity. We are too apt, in forming our notions of the Moslemin, to forget that they had their peaceable as well as their warlike triumphs. We think of their annals only as records of bloodshed, havoc, and sensuality. We lose sight of the long interval of intellectual glory which has numbered the Arabs among the preservers of humanity and of science. We have no eyes to see the influences of their rule, during that period, upon all the arts which confer both grace and comfort on human existence. We are

prone to contemplate the Mahometan dominion solely as a deadly blight, which has visited no region of the earth without leaving behind it the marks of desolation and sterility. A more effectual or entertaining corrective of these prejudices will not easily be found than this portion of Mr. Forster's disquisition. We are, nevertheless, under the necessity of qualifying this praise with the same censure which attaches, more or less, to the whole of his performance. Isaac and Ishmael haunt us throughout the discussion. They are, really, quite omnipresent. They are of all places, and of all times. The author finds as clear an analogy between the religion of Christ and that of Mahomet, in the literature of the Saracens as in their wars and their fanaticism. Whether in the struggle of the battle-field—or in the nobler rivalry of intellectual ambition—or in the work of religious mimicry and imposture—always, and every where, the son of Hagar fulfils his *prophetic* relation towards the son of Sarah! Whether they are mortally quarrelling with each other—or whether they are engaged in something like a contest of generous emulation—still the two brothers are perpetually before us. Absolutely, there is no escaping from these eternal apparitions. Stand where you will, they stare you in the face, with an importunity somewhat resembling that with which the eye of a portrait often pursues you to every corner of the room; till at last we get weary and incredulous, and the delusion vanishes.

We have further to remark, that in his estimate of the beneficial influences of the religion of the Koran, Mr. Forster appears by no means to have kept sufficiently in mind, that the Mahometans have, generally, been intelligent, civilized, and scientific, precisely in proportion to their departure from the true spirit of their faith. Their early history is humourously, but truly enough, abridged by George Huddesford:

“Mahomet, marching at the head
Of his victorious rabble,
His apostolic mission proved
With sword irrefragable :
A heaven of wine and women preached
To make men more devout ;
And, if *he* could not turn their brains,
His Saracens beat them out.”

But then, with conquest came grandeur, and prosperity, and wealth; and these did their usual work with the brain-ejecting barbarians, as they have done with the rest of mankind; they brought with them in their train, repose, refinement, and luxury; they gave men leisure to reflect and to comment on the more pacific and indulgent texts and traditions of their religion—if not

to forget both text and tradition together. And thus it was that the conquering Mussulmans, like many other conquerors, were softened and melted down by their own successes, and were prepared to receive impressions more favourable to the refinement of the human character. The desperate and daring features of Moloch were gradually mitigated, till the men became, like Belial, "in art more graceful and humane" than their fiery and rufian forefathers. And then there followed, naturally, the reign of mental activity, and even of religious liberality and toleration; of every thing, in short, which indicates the supremacy of mind over brute force, or grovelling sense, or slavish superstition. And thus it was that the Saracenic kingdoms were honoured, for three centuries, by the distinguished office of keeping alive the sacred fires of intelligence and civility, while, throughout the greater part of Europe, the flame was dimly smouldering, and almost on the point of hopeless extinction.

All these glories, however, are now gone by. The Turk is at present the *principal* representation of Islamism; and his nature, being incapable of receiving its delicate accompaniments, exhibits the superstition of Mahomet in its original and coarse simplicity. If the Mussulman is to be reckoned among the federal posterity of Ishmael, he at present resembles him chiefly in his aboriginal rudeness, whether we seek him at Constantinople in the person of the portly Osmanli, or follow him to the desert in that of the spare, abstemious, and half-naked Bedouin.

Our main objections to the work of Mr. Forster are now pretty fully and distinctly before our readers. They will perceive that, in our judgment, it has been composed in a state of mental calenture, which exalts the colours, and exaggerates the proportions of every object that presents itself. His faculties appear to have been raised, by the interest of his task, to a degree of morbid and feverish sensibility, which enables him to discern resemblances and contrasts that escape all ordinary and healthful perception. He finds that the true believers have sometimes hated one another with an *odium theologicum* that has never been surpassed in the annals of Christendom; that they have persecuted one another with a merciless fury that might well nigh have enamoured St. Dominic of their creed; that they have worried each other with disputes, the subtlety of which might almost have made the seraphic and irrefragable doctors of our schools expire with envy; that the doctrines of fatalism have been agitated among them at a prodigal expense and waste of charity, that might rival the glories of the Calvinistic controversy itself; that their very sects almost affect a numerical approximation to those of Judaism and Christianity. In these, and various other circumstances, he dis-

cerns more agreements and correspondencies between the two systems than we have time or patience to enumerate; in these lines of family likeness he discerns infallible indications of a connection, which leads him up at once to the history of the two patriarchs. Even the accidental deformities of the true religion furnish him with conclusive evidence of a close relationship between it and the spurious one! To vary, for a moment, our illustration of the matter,—he sees two rivers flowing before him, and there is salmon in both—and in both, perhaps, there are, casually, many other things to be found, much less agreeable and desirable,—and these phenomena tempt him very gravely to surmise, that each stream is, in all human probability, distinctly traceable to one common source!

A great deal of all this, the cool and impartial spectator will easily perceive to be visionary and unsubstantial. He will probably be tempted to pronounce a similar judgment on certain of the author's speculations on prophecy—a region which holds out so many irresistible allurements to the spirit of fervid and contemplative piety. One instance of his keenness in discovering analogies and similitudes will sufficiently exemplify the dangers to which this temper is constantly exposing the adventurer. After expatiating at large in the ample range of Daniel and the Revelations, he suddenly turns aside into a less frequented path, in search of additional testimony to his system. The sacred Scriptures, he says, must be supposed to contain what a great philosopher (Boyle) has termed “unheeded prophecies, overlooked mysteries, and strange harmonies;” and on the strength of this hint, he fixes on the 24th chapter of St. Matthew, which appears to him to teem with hitherto unnoticed references to the Arabian Antichrist. The oracles there uttered by our Lord, he contends, belong to a class of predictions which he is fond of describing as *germinant* prophecies. They extend from the apostasies which were to precede the downfall of Jerusalem, to those which should follow to the end of time: and the occurrences, in such a context, of expressions *applicable* to Mahomet, furnishes Mr. Forster with a strong presumption that we are fully warranted in so applying them. He then invites the reader to consider for himself the passage in question, and to form his own judgment as to the proposed application:

“SAINT MATTHEW, xxiv.

“23. Then, if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. 24. For there shall arise *false Christs* and *false prophets*, and shall show great signs and wonders; inasmuch, that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. 25. Behold, I have told you before. 26. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, *HE*

IS IN THE DESERT; go not forth: Behold, HE IS IN THE SECRET CHAMBERS; believe it not."—p. 242.

To this passage Mr. Forster subjoins his own interpretation: and having urged that, in the main particulars, it has a manifest application to Mahomet,—(who offered himself to the Jews as their *Messiah*,—who was, most eminently, a *false prophet*,—who founded his pretensions on that greatest of all *signs and wonders* the Koran,—and who allured numberless apostates from the ranks of the elect,)—he proceeds with his explanation thus:

" 'Behold, he is in the desert:'] Christ, it will be had in remembrance, pronounced the prophecy in a country immediately adjoining the Arabian desert; can it, then, be matter of reasonable doubt, when we take into account the conspicuous place which the Arabian heresiarch and his apostasy hold elsewhere in the prophetic Scriptures, that the finger of God is here laid on the birth-place of Mahomet and Mahometanism?"—p. 242.

" 'Behold, he is in the secret chambers:'] In the inner apartments of the house, in its most private recesses: both the Greek term in the New Testament, and its Hebrew equivalent in the Old, have a significancy not to be misunderstood;* the prophecy here portrays Mahomet to the life, in his proper character; and pursues him to those hidden scenes of 'chambering and wantonness,' which set the seal of antichrist on himself and his religion."—p. 244, 245.

Now if the success of Mr. Forster's book were a matter in which we felt the deepest personal interest, the first thing we should do would be to request, that he would expunge the whole of this application of St. Matthew from the next edition of it. Or, if we could not prevail thus far, we should, at least, beseech of him to sacrifice the two paragraphs which we have quoted above. No man, whose brain is sufficiently removed from the torrid zone of an hypothesis, will ever be induced to believe that our Saviour, when he pronounces to his followers this warning against false Christs and false prophets, had his eye fixed upon any remoter period than that at which the caution would be eminently useful to those who heard him. Whatever may be the apparent confusion between the more immediate and the more distant application of his words in other portions of this chapter, in the passage before us, at least, there is no ambiguity. It is vain to search here for "overlooked mysteries," or strange "harmonies," or latent predictions. A moment's glance must satisfy us, that, in these verses, the object of our Lord was to furnish directions to the Christians (or the Elect), for their conduct in those awful

* "For the signification of *ταμίον*, see Schleusner in voc.: for that of *תָּמִי*, which, in the Septuagint version, is uniformly rendered by *ταμίον*, comp. Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon."

times, when the Sacred City was verging to her destruction. Nothing, therefore, can be more fantastic than to extend *these* particular admonitions to a period of several centuries beyond that fatal crisis. At all events, the last two sentences of this interpretation are utterly indefensible. Our Saviour guards his disciples against the pretensions of false Messiahs, whether they invite their followers to join them in the neighbouring wilderness, or whether they assemble them in secret apartments, to prepare for more public operations. But then Mr. Forster discovers, that the wilderness in question is, in geographical strictness, a portion of Arabia, and *ταμείον* may sometimes signify a *bed-chamber*; and that, *therefore*, the words of our Saviour contain an allusion to the *chambering*, and wantonness, and voluptuous retirements of the Prophet of the Desert, the Impostor of Arabia!! Such fanciful and capricious interpretation as this, is, really, almost sufficient, of itself, to stultify the whole work; and for that reason we are heartily desirous to see this specimen of it discarded altogether.

We should, however, be very deeply concerned, if our unreserved exposition of Mr. Forster's aberrations from sobriety and caution, should repel our readers from a patient examination of his labours. His performance, it should be understood, has this peculiar merit—that we might toss his main hypothesis overboard, and yet accompany him in safety over a large extent of prosperous and instructive navigation. Whether or not Christianity and Islamism preserve, towards each other, the relation of the legitimate to the spurious son, it must always be of immense importance, that its merits and its demerits should be impartially estimated. Each system of faith is a phenomenon of prodigious interest and moment, in the history of our species. It is therefore in the highest degree absurd and culpable to suffer their relative positions to be settled solely by 'superficial, unweighing, and ignorant' prejudice. They are subjects that deserve the careful study of all who delight to search, patiently and reverently, into the ways of Providence; and such inquirers will find, in Mr. Forster, a very useful and enlightened companion, even though it may scarcely be safe to trust implicitly to him as a guide. To one praise he is most signally entitled,—he brings with him to his task a truly candid, generous and Christian spirit. He cannot endure to contemplate, in the countless millions who have followed the delusions of Mahomet, nothing more than a mass of workmanship fitted solely for dishonour, and ordained to hopeless destruction. He is willing to believe, that the deception they have followed may be overruled eventually to some vast and beneficent purpose; and he is therefore disposed to extend to the misbelievers themselves a generous, and almost a brotherly good-will.

He reminds us, that if we contemplate the main theory of Islam, we shall find it entitled to be regarded as a sort of middle term between truth and error; as occupying a post decidedly superior to that of the heathen superstitions, though at an immeasurable distance below the faith delivered to the saints. He further reminds us, that in proportion as the Mahometans recede from their strong holds of fanatical bigotry, they are found to approximate to the principles of the Gospel; and that *their* heterodoxy often advances nearly to the confines of the Catholic verity; in some instances, more nearly than the system of many among ourselves, who still retain the Christian name and profession; nay, that the Mahometan sects may be said to have furnished their confessors, and even their martyrs, to the truths of the Gospel. He further calls upon us to recollect, that Islamism can boast of many worthies illustrious for piety, self-denial, and munificence; and that, even in the present decay of Mahometan enthusiasm, there is still frequently to be found among the followers of the Prophet a warmth of devotion, and a temper of self-prostration, which might well put to shame the faithless apathy of many a professing Christian. All these circumstances together strengthen him in the persuasion, that there is a large extent of common ground on which the two religions may meet, in God's good time, and wrestle, kindly and amicably, with each other, till Islamism shall retire from the contest defeated, and sinew-shrunken; but shall nevertheless carry away a blessing incomparably richer than the brightest victory.

All these considerations would, at any time, be worthy at least of dispassionate attention: but in this age of missionary enterprise, the neglect of them would be almost criminal. We are now seeking for the most hopeful and judicious methods of approaching the hearts and consciences of heathens and infidels, of every class and denomination. Surely, then, it becomes us to listen respectfully to the charitable suggestions of a kind-hearted pious, and learned man, who is labouring to level the obstructions of ungenerous prepossession, and to prepare, upon their ruins, a highway for our God. Hitherto, indeed, it seems to have been the 'mere despair' of human zeal and wisdom, to discover the direction in which the superstition of Mahomet may be best assailed. But, whatever may be the most promising mode of advancing towards this intent, one thing is absolutely certain, namely, that nothing can more effectually or more disastrously retard that consummation, than an imperfect knowledge of the system itself, and a feeling either of settled aversion, or of contemptuous disregard for those who profess it. However we may *end*, it is quite clear that we must *begin* by acquainting ourselves with whatever good that system may contain, and by allowing it

a liberal value in the account. Any other principle or temper can tend to nothing but to a fatal alienation, and to the defeat of every exertion which zeal and benevolence can devise.

But although we are ready to hail the spirit which has impelled him to this undertaking, we are unable to catch even a glimpse of that sunshine which seems, at times, to burst with such full effulgence upon Mr. Forster. He has succeeded in persuading himself that Mahometanism is, in its own nature, by no means a savage and incorrigible adversary to the religion of Christ. He rather regards it as a slaggish pioneer, who will be found, at last, to have been labouring most sturdily and effectively, to prepare the way for the Gospel,—as a sort of ‘drudging goblin,’ whose ‘hairy strength’ has long been employed to make the rough places level, and the crooked things straight. He conceives the Koran to be incomparably better adapted to gross and semibarbarous natures than the purity of the Gospel; that the rugged energies of the Mahometan faith, by preserving among a vast portion of the human race the doctrines of the divine unity, may have secured, till the time of consummation, a large extent of territory for the final and victorious occupation of the whole truth as it is in Jesus. And when once the road is effectually opened, the march of the spiritual conquest, he is convinced, must be inconceivably rapid! All this while, it unfortunately happens, that the genius of Mahomet has hitherto assumed no other visible aspect than that of the bitterest opposition to the spirit of Christ. Up to this moment, as we all know, the Nazarene is no where an object of such unmitigated scorn as in the realms of Islamism. To the Son of Mary, it is true, the Arabian Messiah has con-signed the offices of intercession and of judgment: but even at his second advent he is to appear only as the last of the caliphs; and the supremacy of the Prophet is to remain in undiminished lustre to the end of time. The infidels who question all this, and yet dare to call themselves Christians, are, to this day, regarded, throughout the regions of Islam, as the most abject and hateful of mankind; as the most impious and reprobate of heretics: and there are few meditations so animating and consolatory to the true believer, as that, which represents to his imagination the burning soil which the *giaour* is to tread, and the boiling water which he is to drink, throughout the ages of eternity! By what imaginable process an approximation is to be effected between these two persuasions, it greatly surpasses all our ingenuity to comprehend. To the argument from miracles, the Moslemin are utterly inaccessible. The argument from prophecy they contrive to turn to their own account. And as for the tenet of the divine unity, it seems, at present, to be only a cause of insuperable alienation;

since the Nazarenes are charged by the Faithful with a most impudent and profane violation of it.

If, however, Mr. Forster shall, upon mature consideration, retain his belief that the Christian cause has been, or is likely to be, debtor to this mystery of deception, it is undoubtedly incumbent upon him to retract, without delay, certain vehement denunciations against it, wherewith he has disburdened his spirit, in its moments of fierce and zealous indignation. We find considerable difficulty in comprehending how a scheme of faith, which stands in the gap between Christianity and heathenism—which, according to Mr. Forster, has done so much for the improvement of the human mind, that it appears as if “Isaac without Ishmael could not have been made perfect”^{*}—and which forms the bridge or causeway over which Christianity may possibly have to march to the conquest of the world—we cannot quite comprehend how a belief, which merits these descriptions, can fairly or properly be designated as the most devastating of all apostasies, and as nothing better than an *Antichristian* perversion of divine truth. Either Mr. Forster must have formed an extravagant estimate of the services which the delusions of Mahomet are likely to render to the truth of Christ, or else we must accustom ourselves to contemplate as a blessing, rather than a curse, the dispersion of “*the perspicuous book*” throughout the more uncivilized regions of the globe. Should the views of this writer become universally popular, we should hardly be surprised by the circulation of proposals for the formation of a *Society for the Propagation of Islam!* As, however, we are not yet quite prepared to look, with much complacency, on a project of this nature, we must, for the present, rest satisfied with what we believe to be a *far more excellent way* of bringing barbarians into the path of salvation, namely, by introducing among them civilization and Christianity hand in hand together, rather than by relying upon falsehood as the herald and forerunner of truth. If this method be pursued, with a due combination of energy and prudence, there will, assuredly, be no necessity for a passage through Mahometanism, from the darkness of Pagan superstition to the marvellous light of the Gospel. We may, then, reasonably hope, that the nations that sit in the deadly shadows of idolatry may be brought forth into the open day, without being entertained or bribed by the way with visions of “black eyes and lemonade”—the eternal ingredients of Musulman felicity!

We are compelled to suppress a variety of reflections and remarks, which we had accumulated in the course of our progress through this work; but the insertion of which would, it is to be

^{*} Vol. ii. p. 277.

feared, render the impatience of our readers positively outrageous, notwithstanding the vivid interest which attaches to the subject ;— an interest made additionally vivid by events which, while we are writing, are rapidly *deploying* before our eyes. The occurrences of the last few months seem to indicate the no very distant accomplishment of a traditional notion, which has long been current among the true believers, that the infidel dogs are destined, at last, to worry and chase them out of Europe. The pack has of late been cheered on, with tremendous effect, by the mighty hunter of Muscovy. The Thracian barrier itself has presented no impediment to his career. The circle appears to be closing in upon the Scythian buffalo. Notwithstanding the breathing time which is now, reluctantly, allowed him, the hounds may before long be once more let slip—they will then soon be upon his haunches ; and, after perilous laceration, will drive him, bleeding and mutilated, back into his Asiatic domains. All this seems more than probable : and with whatever emotion the politician may look upon the prospect, the Christian can hardly contemplate it without feeling his heart burn within him. There is something animating in the thought, that perhaps the present generation may not have wholly passed away, before the abomination which maketh desolate, shall be removed from the Temple of St. Sophia, and its dome echo once more with the anthems of Christian adoration. We forbear, however, to pursue, in imagination, the march of these awful vicissitudes into the regions which are hidden from human gaze. We have hardly caught from Mr. Forster the tone of sanguine confidence, which is needful to carry us forward into the depths of that wilderness of speculation. To him, these events may, possibly, supply a multitude of signs and indications, which speak of a decisive confirmation to his system. To us, they at present furnish nothing more than an additional and powerful motive for observing, with reverent attention, the developement of God's gracious purposes towards the Church, which his own word has pronounced to be indestructible.

ART. II.—*The History of the Church of England.* By J. B. S. Carwithen, B. D. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford; Bampton Lecturer for 1809; and Vicar of Sandhurst, Berks. London. Baldwin and Cradock. 8vo. 2 vols. 1829.

It cannot, assuredly, be considered any disparagement to one of the most pleasing and, yet more, one of the most useful works which has appeared in our times, if we state our opinion, that Mr. Southey's *Book of the Church* has by no means precluded other writers from directing their steps in a similar course. On the contrary, his most interesting volumes have created an appetite and awakened a taste which require farther gratification, and which, indeed, demand yet more substantial nutriment than is to be found in the *bocca dolce* which he has afforded them. If this were all the good which Mr. Southey had effected by his choice of subject, he would sufficiently demand the gratitude of every well-wisher of our Establishment—how much he has done beyond this, it is scarcely necessary that we should here express to any of those who are likely to open our pages.

The sketch of our Church History, which Mr. Southey has so happily dashed off, is rapid, brilliant, spirited, and attractive. The figures, for the most part, are of the heroic cast, and they stand out from his canvass in bold relief. All that he purposed to himself he has executed, most skilfully and successfully; and if beauty of colouring and correctness of outline were every thing which the pencil can furnish, it were idle to seek for these elsewhere. To quit our metaphor, it is obvious that a Work intended for what is called popular circulation; which is to allure those whom business or indolence, activity or sloth, may prevent from more laborious reading; and whose chief hope of success is rested on its power *delectandi pariterque monendi*, must be framed on principles excluding much which the Historical Student will reasonably expect and demand, in a composition more immediately addressed to *his* use. *The Book of the Church*, viewed in this light, stands in the same relation to the volumes now before us, as that which is occupied by *Memoirs*,* in comparison with History. Each in its peculiar line may attain the highest excellences of its kind; but as their kinds are distinct, so also are their excellences.

There is no want of materials for a History of our Church; and one of the great merits, among the many great merits, which

* Such ought to have been Mr. Southey's title, *Memoirs of the Church of England*. It is to be regretted that it did not occur to him that *TO BIBAION* is exclusively reserved for a Book not written by Man.

Mr. Carwithen has exhibited in his present publication, is to be found in his nicety of selection. Burnet and Strype, not to mention numerous other authorities less immediately at hand, doubtless must be read and mastered by every one who seeks to acquaint himself profoundly with the rise and progress of our national Religious discipline and doctrine. They hold the keys of the English Reformers' armoury; and they furnish a choice of weapons of proof, without borrowing from which the Theologian must not presume to enter the fight, nor to gird himself against any of the Philistines who challenge us to come out and set our battle in array. It is to the pages of the Bishop of Sarum, and of the Minister of Low Leyton, that the Divine, the Statesman, the Philosopher, the Antiquary, and the patient inquirer after every species of Truth, must, in the first place, direct his researches, if he would accurately learn the springs and causes, the birth, growth, adolescence, and maturity of our present Ecclesiastical Polity. But when the memory has once become deep-dyed, imbued, and impregnated by these writers; when we are *in-cocti honesto*; when the thirst has been slaked at the fountain-head, and we begin to sip for the indulgence of a fastidious taste, rather than for the relief of an insufferable drought; it cannot be denied that, although no other waters may be more salubrious, many may be brighter to the eye and sweeter to the palate. Strype's pretensions scarcely exceed those of a painful annalist and a laborious compiler; and we have little doubt that he took much credit to himself for the cumbrousness of his unwieldy honesty. So Burnet, (putting aside certain peculiarities of opinion,) though for the most part perspicuous, distinct, nervous, and masculine, is assuredly rough, sometimes even to coarseness, and never oversolicitous of elegance. Even if the *pleasure* of reading be considered (as doubtless it ought to be) but a secondary object, there is no little *profit* to be obtained by a concentration of the widely scattered and discursive narratives of the authors whom we have just named. Strype, indeed, avowedly throws all his facts into loose packages and separate bundles; and sometimes, when we have been surrounded by the compact and closely-printed octavos, for which we are so much indebted to the liberality of the Clarendon Press, and have felt, perhaps, a little confused and perplexed by the countless atoms and unnumbered molecules of information which were emanating from every letter of every line,—we have fancied ourselves not wholly unlike the Princess in the Faerie Tale, who was instructed to assort, and assign to their respective owners, in a given time, the feathers of every bird known under heaven, which had been heaped and mixed together in the uttermost entanglement of disorder. We would willingly, also, have received

assistance from the wand which, at a touch, distributed this plumage, and reduced it to its natural arrangement.* In like manner, with Burnet, there is a perpetual reduplication and retrogyration, a second treading in former steps, over which Ovid would have quibbled through a score of antithetical hexameters :

*. . . ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque
Occurrensque sibi venturas aspicit undas.*

We have no sooner arrived fairly at the settlement of the Reformation under Elizabeth, and congratulated ourselves upon our emancipation from the thralldom of the Scarlet Lady, than we are wafted back far beyond the very beginning, out of sight of Henry VIIIth and his Blue Chamber, to the Great Schism of Rome and Avignon, the Council of Basil, and the Pragmatic Sanction; and having concluded this supplementary prologue, we are led on through a whole volume of new matter, upon the reigns which we supposed that we had long since exhausted. In point of fact, Burnet has quite as many "more last words" as Baxter himself.

We are glad, therefore, to find the hand of a master-artist employed in remoulding the huge mass of undigested materials, —some of them yet unfused and rough from the mine, others already cast into strange shapes and uncouth images,—which lie so abundantly before him. One or two attempts of a similar kind, some of them of recent date, have appeared to us to be failures; and we are by no means surprised to find them so; for the task requires a nice combination of qualities which do not often meet together in the same intellect. There must be diligence to collect facts, sagacity to compare them, dexterity to combine them; a spirit which flags neither under the toil of compilation nor of composition; accuracy, judgment, taste, scholarship, impartiality, soundness of Religious opinions, attachment to established institutions, firmness, and fidelity;—let the reader arrange these qualities in that order which best pleases him, and then let him place under their guidance the pen of a ready and practised writer. All these endowments must be brought to the trial, if it is to be prosecuted happily; and all these, we feel justified in averring, are exhibited in the volumes before us by Mr. Carwithen.

A preliminary chapter, of little more than forty pages, carries the reader, in very rapid progress, from the early visit of Augustine to our islands, down to the opening of the XVIth century. Mr. Carwithen is fully aware that the ground over which he has

* We must acknowledge that such assistance is now afforded by the copious and elaborate Index which appeared in 1828.

to tread is well beaten before him—*sæpius ante Trita pede*—and he stops, therefore, only on such spots as afford commanding views of the tracts below; whence the traveller may become acquainted with the details of the country over which he is passing, without being driven to the irksome and ungrateful pains of exploring each bye-path separately, and unravelling, with great expense of time, toil, and trouble, many a long passage, which after all may lead to nothing. We have rarely met with a writer who is at once so compendious and so perspicuous; who has so keen an eye for the discovery of a strong position, and so quick a step for its occupation. Like the steam-engine, he condenses in order to obtain an increase of power; and he differs chiefly from that stupendous machine, inasmuch as he produces his effect without any accompaniment of noise, smoke, and bustle.

It has been the mistake of more than one late writer on the dawning of the English Reformation, to confound the instruments selected by Providence for the execution of that mighty work, with the work itself; and rashly to imagine that the fortress which we seek to defend cannot remain impregnable, unless, at the same time, every individual in its garrison is shown to be a *preux chevalier* and *sans reproche*. Mr. Sharon Turner has been so anxious to remove what he terms “denigration” from the character of Henry VIII., that we might suppose it was rather of the gentle Titus than of the ferocious Tudor that the Historian was writing; of him who counted every day lost on which he had not been employed in increasing the happiness of Mankind, rather than of him who never devised a single act, unless from the most unmitigated selfishness. Not content with palliation, Mr. Turner boldly enters upon panegyric; and little satisfied with such benefit as might be obtained for his hero by the insinuation of paradoxical Historic doubts, he directly asserts his virtues—blazoning his name among those of the few good Kings which Lipsius thought might be engraven in the narrow compass of a signet-ring. Mr. Soames has been equally, or, perhaps, more tender of this bloody and licentious Tyrant's reputation; and he has summed up his review of a period sullied by more cruelties than disgrace our annals from the Conquest to the Revolution, by a gentle admission that “it is not to be denied that in this reign were committed several *highly reprehensible* acts.” It is difficult to repress indignation at the weakness which thus fails to distinguish between the Evil of the agent and the Good produced by his deeds;—good which he neither contemplated nor desired, and which, if he had regulated the course of the stream, instead of having been carried down with its tide, would never have been effected. The self-same reasoning which advantageously con-

nects the name of Henry VIII. with the blessings of the Reformation, might link that of Pilate, in a similar manner, with those of our Redemption; and it would be as wise to hesitate upon a condemnation of the unrighteous Judge who permitted the shedding of innocent blood, lest thereby we should impugn our Religion, as it is to paint and varnish the enormities of the English Nero, lest the foundation of our National Church should appear to be unsightly.

Mr. Carwithen has viewed these matters in a more correct light, and commented upon them with better taste and sounder judgment. He is speaking of the golden days of Leo X.—

“And this period comprises the early part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, the only part on which it is possible for the mind to rest with complacency. He now sustained his place in that triumvirate of sovereigns which guided the affairs of the civilized world, alternately the friend and the enemy of Francis and of Charles, but a competitor in the lists of fame with both. As yet his vices were those of prosperity and youth. He had not yet made the common transition from careless voluptuousness to callous ferocity; he had not yet reached that point of uncontrolled indulgence when ‘he spared neither man in his hate, nor woman in his lust.’ The professor of any Christian sect can view him with indulgence, when, in the pride of scholastic theology, he presented his treatise on the Sacraments to the accomplished Leo, and, as the meed of his labours, bore away the envied title of ‘Defender of the Faith.’ But humanity as well as religion recoils at the enormities of his latter days, when he incurred the disgrace of apostasy without the merit of conversion; when he was alike disclaimed by Protestant and Papist, for both were the objects of his unrelenting persecution.”—vol. i. p. 46.

A writer less conscious of strength—or not at all conscious of weakness, would scarcely be content to abandon the opportunity of display seemingly afforded him by the first appearance of Wolsey, so frankly and so willingly as it is surrendered by Mr. Carwithen. These splendid common-places are so many traps for second-rate authorlings; and, like other traps, they are usually set in spots which are only entered with intentions of plunder. Mr. Carwithen has seen the danger, and the difficulty, of playing with other people's property at moments when the Tempter is especially at hand to provoke the appropriation of it to our own uses. After pointing to the accurate and finished character of the Great Cardinal, which Shakspeare has so happily dug out and refined from the rough ore of our Chronicles, he declines any attempt at rivalry, with equal gracefulness and discretion.—“Of thought and diction so univerrally admired, it is useless to be a faithful copyist,—it is irksome to be a tolerable imitator,—it is impossible to be an undetected plagiary.” And this, indeed, is one of the characteristic excellences of his volumes. Wherever events have been told

already in the best possible manner by others, he neither weakens their effect by an ostentatious competition, nor defrauds their rightful owners by the gipsy process of disfiguring, in order that he may steal with a greater chance of security. While he seeks to add vigour to his own narrative, he never gains it by the sacrifice of a predecessor. He neither mutilates nor exhausts the subject from which he transfuses life-blood into his own veins; and if ever he borrows, it is not from poverty in himself, but that he may display the acknowledged possessions of others to the greatest advantage.*

The character and history of Crammer is another of those touchstones of discretion, to which few writers have applied themselves without some portion of detriment. And it would not, perhaps, be too much to affirm, that not less injury has been occasioned by an injudicious defence of this great name (for great, and lovely, and venerable it must be in a high degree, after every possible qualification,) in *all* particulars, than by the fierce and unrelenting hostility which strives to scatter the martyr's ashes to the foul blasts of scorn and dishonour. There are some few points upon which an honest and a candid spirit can scarcely hesitate to admit that Cranmer acted weakly and wrongly; there are none of these which charity can fail to cover; there are many others, a countless majority, which class him among the holy list of those who, we are assured, by their meekness, "shall inherit the earth," the "work of whose righteousness shall be peace;" and who, by having "done well" and "suffered for it," and "taken it patiently," have become "acceptable with God." But praise such as this, transcendentally great as it is, does not satisfy that overweening zeal which seeks to make its heroes *all*-perfect, and which is dissatisfied if but one vulnerable spot be shown to remind them of their mortality. *Their* Achilles must dip even his heel in the waters which make him sword-proof; nay, more than this, besides bearing a "charmed life," he must be clothed in armour fabricated by a God, and not to be pierced. Such extravagant pretensions defeat their own purpose; and sooner or later must be overthrown. Far better is it to adopt the moderate tone of the following language, in which an increase of strength is gained by the very avowals of concession.

"The character of Cranmer cannot be entirely passed over without comment, even at this point of the narrative, because its crimination has

* It might perhaps, however, be more satisfactory if direct citations were always distinguished by inverted commas. Our meaning will be explained by turning to Vol. ii. p. 225, where a long passage is transcribed, in the very words of Bishop Gray, which might be supposed to contain only his *sentiments*. The fault probably lies with the printer.

been a favourite mode of aggression with the advocates of the Romish church. The Protestant may undoubtedly repel the aggression, by replying, that truth is equally 'mighty,' by whatever lips it may be uttered, that error is not altered, because it may be attacked from unworthy motives, and that argument is equally incontrovertible by whatever hand it may be wielded. Thus he may fearlessly meet his opponents, but with respect even to the point of general character he has no reason to decline the challenge. The English reformers, although encompassed with the failings of humanity, were raised far above its ordinary standard, and Cranmer, with many imperfections, is not unworthy of the place which he holds in the veneration of the church of England."—vol. i. p. 86.

And again, on a transaction of which we wish the remembrance could be abolished:—

"The commissioners appointed to examine and to reclaim the Anabaptists and Sectarials performed the duty with forbearance as well as fidelity. The attempt was made by public controversy, and by private conference, and speaking generally; the reformers were averse from propagating even truth by violence. That there are exceptions to this assertion, it is impossible to deny; exceptions the more conspicuous, because they are rare; and they have been studiously displayed, in order to show that the Protestants, when the sword was placed in their hands, were not less inclined to persecute than the Papists. One of these exceptions was the execution of Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent; a proceeding which is not only a blot on the reformation, but on the personal character of Cranmer. To obliterate it is impossible, and to extenuate it is injudicious, unless by the candid acknowledgment that the principles of religious toleration were not then fully understood."—vol. i. pp. 309, 310.

The Archbishop's well-known conduct on the receipt of the Papal Bulls at the time of his advancement to the Primacy, and his adoption of the shallow expedient of a Protestation, is represented with similar fairness. It is a portion of his story which we view with very deep regret; and we consider his subsequent failure, while suffering under the bitterness of the fear of death,—even if that failure had not been so nobly atoned for, in death's yet more fearful realities,—as a much lighter blot on his fame. Some extenuation may, perhaps, be derived from the unhappy Ethics of his times. Infallibility was then as much an attribute of the Casuist as of the Pope; and Cranmer, not yet having wholly emancipated himself from the sovereignty which those subtle teachers exercised over conscience, willingly yielded to a suggestion which furthered his own inclination. We offer this solution not by any means in his defence; for he who were to do so would, in degree at least, become *particeps criminis*. We doubt even whether he was in his heart deceived by the sophistry of his advisers, and we had far rather allow that he knew its ill, and yet

gave way to human infirmity, than that his natural instinct for Good was blunted and deadened by evil counsels. He had been taught to look at an object in one particular light which concealed its deformity, and he had not courage enough to remove it to that point of view in which he knew that its ugliness would have been clearly displayed. But such a perverse direction of the sight does not imply any defect in the powers of vision themselves; and, except in this one unhappy obliquity, they might retain all their keenness and accuracy.

"Some of these instruments were directed to the archbishop elect; and these Cranmer delivered to the king for examination. Among them was a mandate for his consecration, on condition of his taking the oath prescribed by the pontifical. The dislike of this oath was probably one of the motives which at first induced him to refuse the primacy, and he retained his scruples of taking it as the time of his consecration approached. He unreservedly declared that many parts of the canon law ought to be reformed, and that the obligation imposed by this oath would prevent him from engaging in such a reformation. When this objection was communicated to some of the canonists and casuists, they devised an expedient which agreed better with their own maxims than with the sincerity of Cranmer, but which he was persuaded to adopt. Before he took the prescribed oath, he made a formal protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any measure to which he was bound by his duty, either to God, or to the king, or to the country; and that he renounced every part of the oath that was contrary to either of these obligations. This protestation he made in the chapel of Saint Stephen, at Westminster, before his consecration, and he repeated it when the consecration was performed, immediately before he took the oath of obedience to the pope."—vol. i. pp. 117, 118.

There are two matters of slight importance respecting Cranmer in which Mr. Carwithen has been betrayed into error; perhaps from reliance on authorities which he has not had it in his power, or which he has not thought it necessary, to verify. The first of these excuses may readily be admitted, and, probably, is that which will be pleaded. The second we altogether reject; for no man can have inquired so extensively, so diligently, and so effectually as Mr. Carwithen, without perceiving that there is not *any* literary authority sufficiently sound to be received implicitly, and without verification. Burnet, in speaking of Cromwell's fate, has stated that—

"The Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Lords, Cranmer being absent that day, as appears by the Journal, on the 17th of June, and *read the first time*, and on the 19th was read the second and third time, and sent down to the Commons; by which it appears how few friends he had in that House, when a Bill of that nature went on so hastily."*

* Vol. i. book iii. p. 502. Ed. 1816.

Mr. Carwithen has accepted this notice of Cranmer's absence on the *first* reading of the Bill as if it extended to the *second* and *third* also. "The Bill," he says, "hastily passed the House of Lords," and then he adds in a note, "Cranmer was not present, as appears by the Journals." The Journals, on the contrary, prove that he *was* present on the last two readings. Again, in relating the closing ferocious act of Henry's tyranny; the flagrant crime by which, when almost in the agonies of death—not content with having brought to an unnatural and unjust doom the gallant and accomplished Surrey, the pride of Chivalry, the glory of the Muses, of Courts, and of Camps, the Lover, the Soldier, and the Poet;—he sought also the life of his father the aged Norfolk; as if the blood of his noblest subjects were to be quaffed for his own *viaticum*;—In relating this atrocity, Burnet has hastily asserted that—"Cranmer's carriage in this matter was suitable to the other parts of his life; for he withdrew to Croydon, and would not so much as be present in Parliament when so unjust an Act was passed; and his absence at this time was the more considerable, since the King was so dangerously ill that it must be concluded it could be no slight cause that made him withdraw at such a time. But the Duke of Norfolk had been his constant enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the public councils when so strange an Act was passing."*

The Bishop appears to have trusted Fox in this matter, who is referred to in the margin; and Mr. Carwithen, in turn, has trusted the Bishop, whose words he has followed closely.

"On this occasion Cranmer acted with a magnanimity suitable to his character. It was a rule of his conduct never to desert a friend, or to insult an enemy in distress; and when the bill of attainder was brought into the House of Lords, he retired to Croydon, and refused to participate in a measure so abhorrent from justice: he refused to join in prostrating the well-earned hereditary honours of the house of Norfolk before the insatiable ambition of the family of Seymour."—vol. i. p. 260.

It is very possible that Cranmer might be at Croydon rather than at Lambeth, during the enactment of this Tragedy; but he cannot claim the praise of abstaining from participation in it. The Journals testify that he was present at every stage of the progress of this most iniquitous Bill; and as Dr. Lingard has fastened himself upon Burnet's mistake with more than usual virulence and venom, we especially hope that Mr. Carwithen will perceive the advantage of correcting it in his next impression. It is solely with this object that we point out such unimportant blemishes.

Every body is acquainted with the rather uncivil expressions which Cardinal Pole addressed to his Royal Kinsman, in very

* Vol. i. book iii. p. 630.

rotund but most vituperative Latin,—how he told him that he wanted common sense, that he was worse than Dathan and Abiram, that he was like Lucifer, that he was imbued with the arts of Satan, that he perpetrated acts befitting Cerberus, and worthy of such a Judge as the Devil; that he resembled Ahab, Nero and Domitian, that he was blacker than an Algerine Pirate, and more impudent than Beelzebub! This and other such language, which the “sad and learned” Tunstall “much disallowed,” and whereat Starky was so “amazed and astonished” that he judged it a “frantic oration,” and imagined that he had been reading “Gregory against Julian Apostata,” must be sufficiently familiar to every one who has opened the blustering *Tract de Unitate Ecclesiasticâ*; and we only allude to these choice phrases now, for the sake of showing how valuable may be a single word when properly applied; what melody may be derived even from a harsh key-note, if it strikes upon a correct and well-tuned ear; and how lavishly and with what profuseness a seemingly barren spot may be enriched and adorned by taste. In another part of this Treatise, Pole, stooping from declamation to plain fact, has said in straightforward terms, what no one will venture to deny, that Sir Thomas More was condemned as iniquitously as Socrates. The suggestion has not been thrown away upon Mr. Carwithen, who must be well versed in the Cardinal’s labours; and we feel no doubt that we are indebted to it for the following very exquisite passage; which we extract the more readily because it is in complete accordance with our own opinion of the illustrious character to which it relates: a character too often stupidly misrepresented by some austere and gloomy spirits, which cannot understand how strongly knit is the bond between a sober lightness of heart and a sound and sincere piety; which fail to appreciate the beauty of that union wherein Holiness and Cheerfulness walk hand in hand together.

“His trial on this arraignment took place in the Court of King’s Bench, not only before the judges, but also before other commissioners appointed for that purpose, of whom the Lord Chancellor was the principal. Though his bodily frame was feeble, his mind had lost nothing of its vigour. Throughout his trial he displayed a solicitude to maintain his integrity and honour, rather than to preserve his life; and if he had been tried by unprejudiced judges, his life would have been as safe as his character. But unavailing were his arguments and his eloquence, in averting a sentence already predetermined. He was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, and after his sentence, when the commissioners offered to hear any thing in his defence, his reply was such as Christian piety could alone inspire. If it should remind the reader of the concluding part of the apology of Socrates, it must at the same time convince him of the superiority of the Christian over the pagan philosopher. It would

have been worthy of Socrates, if Socrates had been enlightened by Divine revelation. The concluding words of his address were these: 'My Lords, more I have not to say, but that, like as the blessed apostle Saint Paul, as we read in the Acts, was present and consented to the death of Saint Stephen, and kept the clothes of them that stoned him, and yet they be both twain compeers and holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends together for ever; so I verily trust, and heartily pray, though your lordships have on earth been my judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter meet in heaven, to our everlasting salvation.'

"Such was the end of Sir Thomas More; a name which will be ever associated with the revival of learning. His erudition, even when compared with that of his contemporaries, was surpassed; it was neither varied nor profound; but he had other and better qualities, in which he has not, in any age, been exceeded. His fervent piety prevented his uncommon cheerfulness from degenerating into levity, and his wit from any alliance with profaneness. His strong attachment to the church of Rome contributed to narrow his intellect, to warp his judgment, and, though it did not diminish his vivacity, to infuse somewhat of causticity into the natural sweetness of his temper. Yet, in the happiest effort of his imaginative faculty, he soared above all superstitious prejudices. Papal tyranny and the Romish religion find no place in his Utopia: on the contrary, his Utopians have Christianity without a priesthood.

"What this distinguished character might have been in an age of more general knowledge and of higher refinement, is an unprofitable speculation. As he now stands exhibited to the notice of posterity, he has been selected by the English Romanists as the bulwark of their cause. Such a choice is not discreditable to their judgment; and it is honourable to their feelings, that their favourite champion is Sir Thomas More."—vol. i. pp. 137—149.

The Chapter on the Dissolution of Monasteries (V.) is admirably drawn up; it contains a rapid but very perspicuous sketch of the Religious Orders existing in England at the time of their suppression, and it very honestly discharges Henry and his agents from any love of pure Religion, any hatred of Popery and its superstitions, in the exercise of that rapacity which swept from its lawful owners the fairest portions of Ecclesiastical inheritance. Other motives are assigned for the act. In the King, his habits of expense, his carelessness, his prodigality, his facile compliance with the importunity of those who amused his idle hours, and ministered to his pleasure or his pride; in the Courtiers, who shared the booty, avarice, and the highwayman's lust for gain, acquired by any means, however nefarious.

We should willingly have listened to more concerning Cromwell than Mr. Carwithen has afforded us. That great Minister, for such he was in pre-eminence, has been dealt with hardly of late. To Dr. Lingard, as might be expected, he has been a prominent mark for obloquy; and Mr. Ellis also, from whom

better things might have been augured, took an odd fancy to shoot a rover in the same direction. Each shaft, we think, has fallen *sine ictu*, and we should gladly have received Mr. Carwithen's sanction of the opinion to that effect which was offered in our pages but a short time since.*

Cranmer's *Catechism* was attacked by Gardiner at the time of its appearance, and Dr. Lingard has renewed the Bishop of Winchester's accusation. "It is remarkable," he says, "that in this *Catechism* the Archbishop *leans more than usual to the ancient doctrines*;" in other words, that he deserts, more than he was accustomed to do, the principles which it was the leading object of his life to promote; "he comprises the prohibition of false Gods and of Images under one Commandment, and teaches that in the communion we received with the bodily mouth the body and blood of Christ."† Mr. Carwithen, without alluding to these charges, has sufficiently rebutted the insinuation conveyed in the statement that the first and second Commandment were run into each other. "In this *Catechism* the two first Commandments are consolidated; yet with an acknowledgment that they were anciently divided; but the use of Images is strongly censured as leading to the imputation, if not to the practice, of Idolatry."—(vol. i. p. 286.)

The second calumny was fully answered by the Archbishop himself, in the merited reproof which he administered to his contemporary. That Cranmer's opinions respecting the Corporal Presence‡ were progressive, and that he did not attain conviction on this important point at a single step, cannot be a matter of surprise: but it can be equally little a matter of doubt, that when he superintended the publication of this *Catechism*, he was sufficiently advanced in the Truth not to intend to assert the Romish doctrine. Gardiner, however, insisted that such was the Archbishop's belief, and he maintained his assertion on two grounds; first, that in a frontispiece to the volume, a communicant was represented kneeling before an altar, upon which stood lighted candles, and receiving in his mouth a wafer from the hands of a Priest appareled after the old sort. It would not be unfair to argue,—and it may be thought that any one short of a Cameronian must admit,—that not the candles, nor the altar, nor the Priest, nor his vestments, nor even the wafer itself, prove any

* *British Critic and Theological Review*, July, 1823.

† Vol. iv. p. 395, note, 4to.

‡ It might be more correct to write Corporal *Absence*, according to a suggestion by Mr. Hallam, but use has sanctioned the phrase which we employ above, although in adopting it we feel as if we partook of the blunder recorded of the Prolocutor at Oxford, who, meaning to advocate the *Presence*, commenced his speech, to the great amusement of his auditors, *Convenistis hodie, fratres, profligaturi detestandum illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento*.—Carwithen, vol. i. p. 409.

belief in Transubstantiation; and that each and all of these indifferent adjuncts might be employed, in honesty of heart, by the sincerest abjurer of that most astounding figment. Cranmer, however, took another course, from which it fully appears how wholly unimportant he considered the circumstance which had led to the accusation; that “as for the picture, it was that set before the Dutch Edition of the Book (the original Nuremberg Catechism, which was here translated) and so none of his doing; but that he afterwards caused the Popish picture to be altered into a picture representing Christ eating His last supper with His disciples.” To Gardiner’s second objection, against the expressions “that with our bodily mouths we receive truly the body and blood of Christ, and this we must believe if we will be counted Christian men:”—he replied with plainness and brevity, that he taught that “we in the Sacrament do receive the body and blood of Christ spiritually, and that the words *really* and *substantially* were not used, but *truly*.” We are not here contending that the expressions adopted by Cranmer were unexceptionable, and the best which might have been employed. Perhaps they are not so, and it may be wished that he had been more cautious; but he was treading in a new path, on ashes thinly strewed over a hidden and insidious flame; and he had yet to learn how widely *any* form of words may be wrung and distorted from its intended bearing by a subtle misinterpretation. Thus much however we unhesitatingly affirm, that he did *not* mean, in using the phrase which he selected, to “lean more than usual to the ancient doctrine;” that Gardiner was fully conscious of the falsehood of his charge; and that Dr. Lingard cannot honestly have revived it, provided he has read, as it was his duty that he should have read, the Archbishop’s answer.

There is another oblique attack upon Cranmer contained in one of Dr. Lingard’s notes, upon which we wish Mr. Carwithen had thought it worth while to expend a line or two. In his account of the rising of the Papists in Devonshire and Cornwall under Humphrey Arundel, in 1549, Mr. Carwithen characterizes the answer which Cranmer was instructed to draw up to their demands, with much truth, but in very general terms: “He enlarges on each (Article) with his accustomed perspicuity, and with great strength of argument defended the separation of the Church of England from the superstitious and idolatrous Church of Rome.”—(vol. i. p. 313.) The answer is indeed a master-piece of reasoning; it contains “in a narrow compass” most of the leading arguments which have since been expanded and variously diversified by later Divines; and it may be considered as the very essence of Protestantism. Yet Dr. Lingard (doubtless on this very account)

has fallen foul of it *after his own manner*. "One of the Articles," he says, "seems to have embarrassed him (Cranmer). The Cornish men complained that they did not understand the English service: he replied, that they did not understand the Latin. But this was an evasion. Certainly, on the same principle on which he contended that the English ought to have an English Liturgy, the Irish, Welch, and Cornish had a right to a service in their own language."—(vol. iv. p. 413, note.) Now who would not imagine from this statement, that the pious Cornish insurgents were denied a very fitting request; namely, that they might have a service which would enable such as did not comprehend English to "pray with the spirit and pray with the understanding also;"—in other words, that they were anxious for a version of the Scriptures and the Liturgy into Armoric? Far from this: it was their *mumpsimus* to which they clung; and their devotion evaporated if it was not to be paid in Latin, of which they were as profoundly ignorant as John Pfefferkorn himself. "*Vos habetis fateri,*" writes Otho Hemerlin to the most erudite Ortuinus Graes, "*quod Pfefferkorn non scit Alphabetum Latinum: et si non scit Alphabetum, multò minus scit legere: et si non scit legere, multò minus scit intelligere: et si non scit intelligere multò minus scribere et componere: et si non scit legere, neque intelligere, neque scribere, multò minus scit disputare de iis questionibus quas nemo potest sapere nisi sit profundissimus literatus.*" This resemblance is close in all points: the Cornish rebels, like Pfefferkorn, knew not one letter in Latin, and *therefore*, like that excellent and learned regenerate Hebrew, they delighted in puzzling themselves on dark questions of Theology.

Dr. Lingard's *accuracy* will be rendered yet more evident if we cite the demands of the Rebels in their own words. There are two Articles which bear upon the matter under consideration. In the III^d they say, "We will have the Mass in Latine, as was before, and celebrated by the Priest, without any man or woman communicating." To this Cranmer replied, throughout with acute reasoning, and occasionally with fervid eloquence.

"Standeth it with reason that the priest should speak for ye and in your name, and you answer him again in your own persons; and yet you understand never a word, neither what he saith nor what ye say yourselves. The priest prayeth to God for you, and you answer *Amen*, you wot not whereto. Is there any reason herein? Will you not understand what the priest prayeth for you? What thanks he giveth for you? What he asketh for you? Will you neither understand what he saith, nor let your own hearts understand what your own tongues answer? Had you rather be like pyes and parrots, that be taught to speak, and yet understand not one word what they say, than be true Christian men that pray

unto God in heart and faith? The priest is your proctor and attorney to plead your cause and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attorneys have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended that the priests which plead your cause before God should speak such language as you may understand? If you were before the king's highness, and should chuse one to speak for you all, I am sure you would not chuse one that should speak Greek or Hebrew, French or Italian; no, nor one that should speak Latine neither. But you would be glad to provide one that should speak your own language, and speak so loud that ye might both hear him and understand him: that you might allow or disallow that that he said in your names. Why do you then refuse to do the like unto God?"

We have cited this passage at length, in order that it may plainly appear that Cranmer does not contend for the substitution of an *English* Liturgy service in the place of one in *Latin*, as Dr. Lingard would persuade us; but for a service which may be understood instead of one which is unintelligible. For this purpose he quotes Isaiah and St. Paul, to show that God willeth to speak to every people in their own language. "So have the Greeks the Mass in the Greek tongue, the Syrians in the Syry tongue, the Armenians in their tongue, and the Indians in their own tongue." And so would Cranmer have given the little flock of Cornish rebels, who could chatter nothing save the dialect of their own choughs, a liturgy abounding with *Tre* and *Tru* and *Pen* and *Cothick*, if he had known where to find it.

Not being able to do thus much, he yet did all that was in his power. It is, however, not so much the III^d as the VIIIth Article by which Dr. Lingard would have us believe that the Primate was "*embarrassed*." Let us read this, together with his answer. "We will not receive the New Service," say the insurgents, "because it is but like a Christmas Game; but we will have the Old Service of Mattins, Mass, Even-song, and Procession in Latine, as it was before. And so we the Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this New English." Mark now how a plain speech shall put down not only the Rebels, but their modern advocate also. Cranmer replies as follows:—

"As concerning the having of the Service in the Latine tongue is sufficiently spoken of in the answer to the Third Article. But I would gladly know the reason why the Cornish men refuse utterly the *New English* as you call it, because *certain* of you understand it not: and yet you will have the Service in Latine which almost *none* of you understand. If this be a sufficient cause for Cornwall to refuse the English Service, because some of you understand none English, a much greater cause have they both of Cornwall and Devonshire to refuse utterly the late

Service, for as much as fewer of them know the Latine Tongue than they of Cornwall the English Tongue."

Is there any *evasion* in this reasoning? or rather, is it not a conclusive *à-fortiori* argument? Does it seem as if Cranmer would have refused them a Cornish Liturgy if it could have been provided? or rather, does he not throughout contend for the principle which Dr. Lingard more than insinuates he violated, that every people should have a service in their own language? It is no doubt a fortunate circumstance that no such translation existed at the time, or it might have served to perpetuate a barbarous jargon which tended to separate one province from the remainder of the kingdom, and made its inhabitants rather Cornish than English. Even so late as the year 1640, the Sacrament was administered to the elder people in some of these western parishes in their own tongue, from their inability to comprehend that of the major part of the Island. But half a century has now passed since its reluctant gutturals gurgled from the throat of any native, to the delight of an open-eared antiquary. That the reader may not think we exaggerate the harshness of this dialect, we shall subjoin a specimen. It is the Epitaph of Dolly Pentreath, the last spokeswoman of her County, who was visited at Mousehole by Mr. Daines Barrington, in 1768, for the sole purpose of hearing her talk syllables which he could not comprehend. She was then in her eighty-second year, and she survived twenty years longer. More particulars concerning her may be found in the III^d volume of the *Archæologia*, but we shall content ourselves with her monumental lines, which we commit for translation to the diligence of our readers.

Coth Dol Pentreath canz ha Deaw,
Marir en Bedans en Powl pleu:
Na en an Eglar ganna Poble brâz,
Bet en Eglar Hay Coth Dolly es.

To proceed to another portion of Cranmer's History. If there be any point in it on which the malevolence of contemporary persecution forbore to assail him, (and it could do so only because he was not there to be wounded,) it was the part taken by him relative to the Will which Edward VI. when dying, so unhappily and so illegally framed for the descent of the Crown. We will begin with the account given by Mr. Carwithen:—

"Awed by the haughty demeanour of Northumberland, or swayed by hopes of his future favour, most of the councillors, without scruple, testified their approbation by signing the instrument; but Cecil and Cranmer boldly opposed an act of such illegality and injustice. The latter solicited a private interview with his sovereign; but having experienced a refusal, the archbishop gave his opinion openly to the king, in the

presence of the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Chamberlain Darcy. He said that he would never consent to disinherit the daughters of his old master and early benefactor; that he had voluntarily sworn to the observance of the late king's will; and that, by subscribing the instrument before the council, he must incur the guilt of perjury. In the conclusion, both Cecil and Cranmer were urged with an importunity almost amounting to compulsion, and affixed their names, the first, according to his own relation, merely as a witness, the last, with a reluctance which even his enemies were constrained to admit as a sufficient justification."—vol. i. pp. 371, 372.

Alas! his later enemies have not been so easily satisfied. Dr. Lingard's narrative of this transaction condenses in a very few lines, almost all the characteristics of that eminent Historian; and since from its brevity it may frequently be passed by without attracting the attention which it deserves, we may be permitted to cite it:—

"Among the privy councillors there were *some*, who though apprised of the illegality and apprehensive of the consequences of the measure, suffered themselves to be seduced from their duty by the threats and promises of Northumberland, and their objection to the succession of a princess, who would probably re-establish the ancient faith, and compel them to restore the property which they had torn from the Church. The Archbishop"—(We beg the point may be noticed at which this name is introduced, in immediate consecution to the motives which are assigned to *some* of the actors.) "The Archbishop, *if we may believe his own statement*, had requested a private interview with the King, but he was accompanied" (Does Dr. Lingard mean to imply that it was by his own desire he was so accompanied?) "by the Marquess of Northampton and the Lord Darcy, in whose presence Edward solicited him to subscribe the new settlement, expressed a hope that he would not refuse his sovereign a favour which had been granted by every other Councillor, and assured him that, according to the decision of the Judges, a King in actual possession had a power to limit the descent of the Crown after his decease. Cranmer confesses that he had the weakness to yield against his own conviction, and that having once yielded he resolved to support the cause with all the influence of his station."*

Now whether we choose to believe Cranmer's own statement or not, be it remembered that there is no other original authority in existence upon which our knowledge can be founded: and that it is to this statement Dr. Lingard refers for his voucher. Is he borne out by it in the above representation? Let the reader decide for himself from the Archbishop's Letter to Queen Mary.

"If by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that Wil, I would have done it. And what I said therein, as well to the Counsel as to himself, divers of your Majesties Counsel can re-

* Vol. iv. p. 471. 4to.

port: but none so well as the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, then Lord Chamberlain to the King's Majesty. Which two were present at the communication between the King's Majesty and me. I desired to talk with the King's Majesty alone, *but I could not be suffered*; and so I failed of my purpose. For if I might have communed with the King alone, and at good leisure, my trust was that I should have altered him from his purpose; but they being present my labour was vain. Then when I could not dissuade him from the said Wil, and both he and his Privy Council also informed me that the Judges and his learned counsel said that the Act of entayling the Crown by his Father could not be prejudicial to him, but that he being in possession of the Crown might make his wil thereof; this seemed very strange to me. But being the sentence of the Judges and other his learned Council in the Lawes of this Realm, (as both he and his counsil informed me,) *methought it became not me, being unlearned in the Law*, to stand against my Prince therein. And so at length I was required by the King's Majesty himself to set my hand to his Wil; saying, that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his Wil than the rest of the Council were. Which words surely grieved my heart very sore: and so I granted him to subscribe his Wil, and to follow the same. *Which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation.* And whereas it is contained in two Acts of Parliament, as I understand, that I with the Duke of Northumberland should devise and compass the deprivation of your Majesty from your Royal Crown, surely it is untrue. *For the Duke of Northumberland never opened his mouth to me to move me any such matter.* Nor his heart was not such toward me (seeking long time my destruction,) that he would ever trust me in such a matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was others of the Council that moved me, and the King himself, the Duke of Northumberland not being present. *Neither before, neither after, had I ever any privy communication with the Duke of that matter,* saving that openly at the Council table the Duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the King as I did, when I went about to dissuade him from his said Wil."

No one who has studied Crammer's character, with a fair and unprejudiced temper, will doubt the credibility of this statement: and even exclusive of such evidence as his character will afford, it may be "believed" on other grounds which cannot be impugned. It related to transactions notorious as the sun at noon-day; it appealed to living witnesses; not to friends, but to avowed and bitter enemies; it might have been contradicted by numberless indifferent persons; and its author was found guilty of the offence which he admits in it, and for which he solicits pardon. But that the circumstances attending the committal of that offence were such as his statement averred them to be, was never denied in any stage of the proceedings by any of the parties concerned; and it was left to Dr. Lingard to impeach its veracity. From

this statement we learn that he was not “seduced from his duty by the threats of Northumberland;” for the only threat which Northumberland uttered against him was offered after he had vainly endeavoured to perform his duty; nor by his promises, for Northumberland sought his destruction. We learn also, that strongly impressed with the impolicy, perhaps with the injustice of the proposition, he by no means yielded to the King’s importunities, till he was assured on authority, which he must have been arrogant indeed to mistrust, that it was strictly *legal*; he did not act therefore “against his conviction,” nor was he “apprised of the illegality of the measure.” And to the same purpose we understand his words “unfeignedly and without dissimulation,” that is, that he gave his full assent, without the least reserve, to a measure which he disapproved personally, but which after it had received the assent of his sovereign, of the highest legal advisers of the Crown, and of the Privy Council, he did not think himself justified in continuing to oppose individually. If our view of this transaction be correct, Dr. Lingard has a just right to one at least of the merits which he claims to himself in his Preface; he has “elucidated much that has been thought obscure, and discovered much that has been hitherto unknown”—for if we open any Dictionary of Synonymes, we shall learn that to *elucidate* means no more than to place an object in a strong light, it matters not of what colour, and that *discovery* is but another word for *invention*.

Even when he has dragged his great victim to the stake, Dr. Lingard’s vindictiveness is unsatisfied; he would diminish the extent of his agonies, not out of commiseration, but that the glory of that heroic act, which has wrung praise from the very Coryphæus of infidels,* may be lessened in proportion: and this robbery is attempted most unblushingly, in the very teeth of the authority to which he refers. “When the fire was kindled, to the surprise of the spectators, he thrust his hand into the flame exclaiming, ‘this has offended!’ *His sufferings were short, the flames rapidly ascended above his head, and he expired in a few moments.*”† The eye-witness of this barbarous execution, whose deeply-touching narrative Strype has printed from Fox’s MS. and to which Dr. Lingard directs us, speaks in terms which prove that Cranmer’s sufferings were far from short. But Dr. Lingard has availed himself of a very useful Figure in composition, by which the first and last members of a paragraph having been duly incorporated, produce a third, directly contradicting

* Voltaire, as Mr. Carwithen reminds us, panegyricized the dying act of Cranmer as more intrepid and magnanimous than the similar act of Mutius Scævola.

† Vol. v. p. 97, 4to edit.

the meaning of its two constituents. The eye-witness, himself a Papist, writes as follows:—"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, *and held it there a GOOD SPACE before the fire came to any other part of his body, where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning*, crying with a loud voice 'This hand has offended!' *As soon as the fire got up*, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while." The seven little words which Dr. Lingard has passed by, contain the whole secret of the metamorphosis which he has effected. *As soon as the fire got up* the martyr was quickly dead; but can it be believed, that his "sufferings were short," *while* the fire was getting up; a process which afforded him sufficient time to burn his right hand "sensibly" in the sight of every man!

We gladly pass on from this season of blood and flame; but in justice to Mr. Carwithen we must not quit it without showing that he knows how to speak with firmness as well as with gentleness; that the temperance wherewith he approaches such portions of his subject as most demand the exercise of that quality, (though unhappily it is on these very subjects that this quality has least frequently been remembered) springs from knowledge rather than from ignorance—from power rather than from weakness: for he partakes in no degree of that puling Liberalism, which, through want of ability to apply any accurate scale of measurement to the comparative height of the objects before us, adopts the short and easy method of reducing them all to the same flat, dull, undistinguished level. The Marian Persecution is introduced by the following manly paragraph:—

"If a recital of the following events serve no other purpose than to exasperate and inflame, to revive animosities which ought to be forgotten, and to cherish a remembrance which ought to be obliterated, the abridgment or even the suppression of the narrative could require no apology. Different, however, is the spirit in which the Christian recalls to his memory those illustrious confessors of their faith, 'of whom the world was not worthy.' Let his feelings be analysed; and though, like every human feeling, every human motive, and every human action, it is not unalloyed, yet it is salutary; for it is pious and it is charitable. Gratitude to God, the giver of every good gift; reverence for his chosen servants, on whom He bestowed such an abundant measure of holy fortitude; steadfastness in that religion, for which they were contented to resign 'life itself;' these are the sentiments which predominate in his mind, and the abhorrence of the persecutor is completely extinguished in admiration of the martyr.

"In detailing the Marian persecution of the reformers, far be it from any Protestant to aggravate its severity or its guilt; let him convert it to a more noble end, to strengthen his conviction, and to animate his cou-

rage. But, at the same time, let him not shrink from vindicating the martyrology of the Church of England, through fear of incurring the scoffs of the infidel, or the rage of the bigot; let him show that the characters of those who are recorded in its pages are deserving of that veneration with which he regards them; and that, though their qualities were different, and their talents unequal, yet they were all placed far above the suspicion of folly or fanaticism."—vol. i. pp. 430, 431.

But the sufferings of these holy men were not the only evils which resulted to the New Doctrine from the relentless bigotry of Mary and her advisers. The blood of the Martyrs, as has been truly said, is the seed of the Church; and that seed so profusely sown at home, would have ripened early into rich harvest, if it had not been for an admixture of tares imported from a foreign soil. The English Reformed Clergy who had taken refuge in Germany, brought back with them, on their return, the unhappy and unintelligible refinements of the high Calvinistic School. Questions of a dark and dangerous nature, which the discretion of the first Reformers had wisely refused to debate or to determine, were now mooted in every pulpit: and the narrow principles concerning Church government and Ceremonies, which the exiles had imbibed in the petty States and Republics abroad, were fondly recommended as models whereon to frame a more extended Church, established in a great and magnificent nation, which required an uniform System of Ecclesiastical Polity, a regular subordination of Ministers, a solemnity of public worship, and an observance of exterior institutions.* The temper of Elizabeth, in many points, acted as a salutary check upon these favourers of Puritanical enthusiasm. "Though a determined foe," says Mr. Carwithen, "of Papal jurisdiction, she was attached to the ancient Ritual, she thought that a too great deference had been shown to Foreign Reformers in regard of (to) discipline, and that, through their suggestion, divine worship had been divested of many of its decencies." Her sagacity in the appointment of Parker to the Primacy, saved the Church of England from being levelled in its very infancy to the platform of Geneva. The silly calumny of the *Nag's Head Consecration* has been abandoned even by Neal and Dr. Lingard; the latter of whom, nevertheless, unwilling to surrender it altogether, has clung to an equally silly explanation; by which he has drawn down upon himself a salutary comment from Mr. Hallam;—"this means," says the latter writer, (who seldom puts on the gloves when he aims a blow,) alluding to Dr. Lingard's suggestion that there *may* have been a previous Tavern meeting, "that any absurdity may be presumed rather than acknowledge good Catholics to have propagated a lie." It

* Thomas Warton.

may appear superfluous to slay the ghosts of the slain; but if a shadow of a scruple were remaining as to the validity, solemnity, regularity, and legitimacy of Parker's consecration, it must be utterly dissipated by the conclusive evidence which Mr. Carwithen has brought forward concerning it.

Bishop Burnet has an odd passage in his account of the arrangement of the *Articles* in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, in which he considers that the Abridgment of Edward VIth's Article on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was intended for the sake of "uniting all into the communion of the Church;" in other words, that the Convocation abandoned a fundamental truth under an idle hope of proselytism. Burnet proceeds further, and maintains, that although the doctrine of the Church "was at that time contrary to the belief of a real or corporal presence in the Sacrament, it was not thought necessary or expedient to publish it."* It is perhaps this passage, in itself a very faulty one, which has betrayed Mr. Southey into one of still greater inadvertency. "It was," he says, "a most important object for Government to bring about the great change in the quietest manner, with as little injury as possible to individuals. For this reason, the Supplication saying, 'from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us!' which was part of the Litany in the Liturgy of Edward's reign, was expunged now." Mr. Carwithen has given a better, and, we doubt not, a truer reason for this omission. The words were "justly thought inconsistent with the charitable spirit which should ever accompany Prayer. However strongly error may be impugned in Articles and Canons, in our addresses to Heaven, it should ever be remembered that we are all fallible as well as sinful."—(vol. ii. p. 17.) Mr. Southey proceeds—"for the same reason it was enjoined, that the Sacramental bread should be continued in the form of wafers"—a custom of entire indifference, and a return to which even now, were it not for the repugnance which men feel to renounce long-established habits, and from an apprehension of misinterpretation, might perhaps contribute to decency—"and the language of the Article which *affirmed* a real presence, was so framed as to allow latitude of belief for those who were persuaded of an exclusive one."

Now we may remark first of all, that a *real* corporal presence, such for which the Romanists contended, and such as we have shown above that Cranmer understood it to be, is not *affirmed* in the Article, but positively *denied*: for the remainder Mr. Carwithen shall speak.

* Vol. ii. Part ii. B. iii. p. 728, Ed. 1816.

"The only article which has been selected to show that the reformers, on their revival of Edward's Articles, abated the terms of communion in favour of the Papists, is that on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It has been alleged that the article was mutilated to bring the Romanists into the communion of the Church; that an express definition against the real presence was thought to be offensive to many of that persuasion; and therefore it was deemed sufficient to condemn Transubstantiation, and to affirm that Christ was present after a spiritual manner, and received by faith.

"If the reformers of Elizabeth, in their abridgment of this article, were actuated by such an intention, they were not guided by their usual soundness of judgment: but that they had any such intention may be safely denied. The metaphysical argument of the impossibility that a human body should 'be at one and the same time in many places,' is by no means the strongest argument against Transubstantiation. Metaphysical arguments might be applied with equal success to disprove any of the mysterious doctrines of Christianity. Why is Transubstantiation rejected, and the Trinity retained by the Church of England? Not because the doctrine of the Trinity is within the reach of human comprehension, but because it is deducible 'from the plain words of Scripture;' because it has been the belief of the primitive Church, and because it is consistent with the scheme of human redemption. All these arguments Transubstantiation wants. It is 'repugnant to the plain words of Scripture;' it 'overthroweth the nature of a sacrament;' it cannot be proved to have been the belief of the Christian Church for the first nine centuries, and it 'hath given occasion to many superstitions.' These arguments the article retains; to have urged more would have been undoubtedly superfluous; and to have omitted the weakest cannot be interpreted into a disposition to temporize. If this omission were one of those things which drove the ancient Puritans out of the Established Church, it only proves their want of judgment, or their want of charity.

"That no undue concession to the Romanists was intended is evident, from the circumstance that all the other Articles of Edward were retained which are inconsistent with Transubstantiation. To affirm that the wicked do not receive Christ's body and blood, is the same thing with denying that Christ is corporally present in the sacrament. To affirm that both parts of the sacraments are 'to be administered to all Christian men alike,' is to deny the Romish doctrine of concomitance, which is built on that of the corporal presence. To affirm that the one oblation of Christ is a perfect satisfaction for sin, is to deny the sacrifice in the mass, and the use of private masses, which cannot subsist without Transubstantiation."—vol. ii. pp. 50—52.

Neal has told us, that "all the Puritans of these times would have remained within the Church, might they have been indulged in the habits and a few ceremonies;" nevertheless, he adds, "they had other objections besides those for which they were deprived." These, when specified, fall under no less than nine goodly heads, the last of which is again subdivided into seven branches. We

really do not see how, after such an admission, they are to escape the following deduction which honestly results from it.

"It has been more than once asserted, by the advocates of Puritanical separation, that the Puritans would have continued within the Church, if they could have obtained indulgence for their scruples concerning the habits and some other ceremonies. But when the separation had been effected, it was discovered that they entertained other and graver objections against the Ecclesiastical Establishment. This amounts to an acknowledgment that they would have sacrificed their conscientious and substantial reasons of dissent, if they could have been indulged in matters which they repeatedly affirmed were indifferent, or at least unessential."—vol. ii. p. 81.

The History of Elizabethan Puritanism necessarily leads to an account of Hooker, and a rapid analysis of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*. That great man has already found a glowing eulogist in Mr. Hallam, who has been warmed by his subject into eloquence: but Mr. Carwithen need not shrink from comparison with that which we consider among the best written passages of the *Constitutional History*. His summary of Hooker's immortal Work, though brief, is of course too long for extraction here; and we must content ourselves with some detached paragraphs on his style and character.

"Saravia, in the age of Elizabeth, was cherished by the Church of England for his own sake; by posterity his memory will be venerated chiefly because he was the chosen friend of one whose writings have survived the lapse of time, accompanied by changes in opinion and in language. Of Saravia it is enough to say, that he was the friend of Hooker.

"If Hooker had not lived, it would have been incumbent on an historian of the English Church to have set forward the arguments of the other adversaries of Puritanism in full display and dilatation: but the energy of Whitgift, the eloquence of Bancroft, and the mildness of Saravia, are combined in that immortal work, 'The Ecclesiastical Polity.'

"That this work is still considered as the standard to which the Church of England may confidently appeal, as exhibiting the true, settled, and Catholic principles of the English Reformation, is an unanswerable proof of its excellence. It derives no adventitious weight from the character or circumstances of its author, nor from its accommodation to the prejudices of a particular age. Never was any work less indicative of its author's character: Hooker was of a temper artless, retiring, and contemplative, remarkable for his ignorance of the world, and his unsuspecting simplicity: but the Ecclesiastical Polity is the performance of a man who had attentively studied, and therefore could accurately develop the motives of human actions; it is the performance of a keen and penetrating observer of popular opinions and of passing events; and the style possesses the graphic distinctness of one who has mingled in the business of life. His description of the Puritans is one of the most vivid

and masterly portraits which was ever drawn by a human pen."—vol. ii. pp. 153, 154.

"It is not the erudition of Hooker, for in erudition he has been surpassed; it is that comprehensive intellect, which was not warped or fettered by prejudice; it is the intense piety by which that powerful intellect was chastened and refined, which has given perpetuity to his writings. His *Ecclesiastical Polity* was suggested by the theological controversies of his own times; but it is still read when those controversies are forgotten, and its perusal is not confined to mere theologians. Though all his writings are controversial, yet they have the point of controversy without its venom. The vein of animated piety, which insinuates itself into the body of his argument, has not transmuted his materials, but has conferred on them consistence and durability. Calumny, whether directed against his person, or his opinions, could never provoke his Christian meekness into anger, and still less into recrimination. The spirit which dictated the following sentence, in reply to one of his opponents, was ever present:—'Your next argument consists of railing and reasons: to your railing I say nothing, to your reasons I say what follows.'

"Whatever treatment Hooker might have experienced from the malice and the envy of his contemporaries, yet his posthumous fame was not slow, though imperceptible, in its progress. Though no writer combated the Romanists with greater success, yet, to their honour, they have liberally celebrated his praise. The encomium of a Roman Pontiff* might have been inscribed on his tomb:—'There is no learning that this man hath not searched into, nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that they shall remain till the last fire shall consume all learning.'

"From the subject-matter of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a transition is naturally made to its style. Camden, in praising the modesty and the other eminent qualities of Hooker, has expressed a wish, that, for the honour of this kingdom, and the advantage of other nations, his work had been composed in the Latin language, on account of its universality. The English scholar and the English divine will prefer its present garb, because it has conferred immortality on their native tongue. The *Ecclesiastical Polity*, independently of its subject, and considered merely as a composition, is, beyond comparison, the greatest work of the Elizabethan age. It is not from any predilection for the opinions of Hooker that his style will be preferred—not to his contemporaries, but to one who lived more than a generation after him—to Milton. The style of Hooker, when compared with that of Milton, possesses equal harmony, more dignity, and, which is strange to say, more courtliness. Hooker, though he had not enjoyed, like Milton, the advantages of foreign travel, was well acquainted with 'seemly arts and affairs:' he had a taste for painting, he had an exquisite sense of music, and in the rhythm of his periods may be detected the latent seeds of poetry.

"It is impossible to conclude these reflections without expressing the

* Clement VIII.

gratifying thought, that a work, whose existence must be coeval with the national language, is consecrated to the defence of the Church of England."—vol. ii. pp. 164—166.

It is not often that Mr. Hallam's views of Ecclesiastical History are likely to accord with those of a staunch and sound advocate of our Church Establishment; and accordingly we are not surprised to find Mr. Carwithen, a few pages onward, at direct variance with him in an assertion respecting the *Millenary Petition*. It is indeed an assertion, so extraordinary, and so far removed from fact, that it is not possible to refer it to *ignorance*—it must be attributed to *indifference* regarding the matters which it concerns. "This petition," says Mr. Hallam, "contained no demand inconsistent with the established hierarchy, nor, as far as I am aware, what might not have been granted without inconvenience." Now we need scarcely say, that most of the leading distinctions, both in ceremonies and discipline, which had been contended for during the long reign of his predecessor, would have been swept away at once, if James had inadvertently consented to this *not inconvenient* Petition. The rites used in the administration of Baptism, and the Solemnization of Matrimony, Confirmation, Vestments, Church Music, the reverend bowing at the name of Jesus, which it is for the most part forgotten is authorized by St. Paul—some of them were to be taken away, others to be "moderated to better edification." An examination was to be instituted before admission to Communion. The Lord's day was to be observed in the austere Presbyterian model. The Service (that is the Prayers) was to be abridged, in order that the Sermon might be lengthened; for all ministers who had not the gift of preaching were to be removed, and the impropriations annexed to the Bishoprics and Colleges were to be given to preaching incumbents only; an enactment, which, as Fuller has stated in one of his homely but effective metaphors, "would cut off more than the nipples of the breasts of both Universities in point of maintenance." Lastly, the Petitioners objected to the existing form of Subscription, and required a radical alteration in the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Universities expressed their opposition strongly, and James, in order to remove all reasonable cause of grievance, and justly confident of the issue, for he knew the respective intellectual strength of the parties opposed, granted the well-known Conference at Hampton Court. In this Conference, the demands of the Puritans extended far beyond ceremonies and discipline; and Reynolds boldly asked for a change in doctrine. The Lambeth Articles were to be added to the existing Thirty-nine; and Predestination, absolute decrees,

and final Perseverance, were to be asserted in the broadest Calvinistic form. Of the coarse, gross, and unmannerly demeanour of James during these proceedings, we are not about to become defenders. It is but seldom that on these points he can be closely inspected to his advantage; and never with so little hope as when he is chuckling over Theological controversy, and moderating a Scholastic disputation, by the intervention of some broad and bare-worded buffoonery. But upon the result of this Conference we may congratulate every son of the English Church. It terminated the hopes which the Puritans had founded upon a change in the succession.

Whatever might be the want of kingly bearing which James manifested on this occasion, it is hardly fair to tax him with apostasy. He had, perhaps, temporized with the Presbyterians while he was in their power, and while these *Tribuni Plebis*, as he termed them, could "calumniate him in their populare Sermons." Occasionally, no doubt, also, he had professed a somewhat strict adherence to Kirk; who, without such profession, most probably would have "overbaited" herself upon his "wracke," as she had already done upon that of his mother and his grandmother. But in his more inward thoughts, it is not likely that he was ever a friend to the "pople," which Browne, Penry, and others, had sown without hindrance in Scotland; nor that he ever intended to assist in sowing like evil seed in furrows wherein as yet it had not been permitted to take root. Mr. Hallam observes, that the Puritans might have anticipated his objections to them from a decisive passage in the *Basilicon Doron*, printed and privately distributed three years before his accession to the English Throne. We may go much beyond a single passage. Every line of that Work, in which he touches upon the Puritanic habits and opinions, shows how deeply he had been wounded, how bitterly the harassment which he had suffered from the Clergy of that School, is remembered by him. It is not only in the Preface (which indeed was written afterwards) that he characterizes their Preachers as rash-headed, that think it an honour to contend with Kings and perturb whole kingdoms; as brain-sick and heady, contemning the Civil Magistrate, and leaning too much to their own humours; as accounting all men profane that swear not to all their phantasies; as making the Scripture to be ruled by their conscience, and not their conscience by the Scripture; as judging him that denies the least jot of their grounds to be *tanquam ethnicus et publicanus*, not worthy to enjoy the benefit of breathing, much less to participate with them in the same Sacraments—which men he wishes his Son to punish in case they refuse to

obey the Law, and will not cease to stir up a Rebellion. Besides all this, in the Ist Book he expressly enjoins Prince Henry in his rule for Prayer, not to be "overhomely with God like some of the vaine Pharisæic Puritanes, that thinke they rule him upon their fingers:"—he instructs him to avoid, equally with the belief in the infallibility of the Church, a leaning to his "owne conceits and dreamed revelations." In the IId Book he gives him sound advice respecting the management of his Divines, in words which show how severely he himself is smarting under the recollection of their overweening carriage. He urges him to be well seen in the Scriptures, in order that he may contain his Church in their calling, "For the ruling them well is no small point of your office, taking specially heed that they vague not from their text in the Pulpit, and if ever you would have peace in your land, suffer them not to meddle in that place with the estate or policie, but punish severely the first that presumeth to do it. Doe nothing towards them without a good ground and warrant, but reason not much with them; for I have over-much surfeited them with that, and it is not their fashion to yeeld. And suffer no conventions nor meetings among Churchmen, but by your knowledge and permission."

We might extract many other passages in the same strain; but we shall content ourselves with the one to which we imagine that Mr. Hallam alludes, because none can express in stronger or in more direct terms the King's fixed rejection and abhorrence of Puritanism. We make no apology for its extraction. It reflects much light upon the Ecclesiastical History of those times; and it is not likely to occur to many of our readers in the ordinary course of study; for the Works of this Royal Author are by no means to be counted among the popular writings of our day; and we doubt much whether even Messrs. Colburn and Bentley, with all their mastery of Bibliopoli-craft, or their lordship over the light puffs of praise, could sell half-a-dozen copies of this same *Basilicon Doron*, even if they threw in, as a bonus, the *Dæmonology*, and the *Counterblast to Tobacco*, to boot.

"Take heed, therefore, my sonne, to such Puritanes, verie pestes in the church and common weale, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oathes or promises binde: breathing nothing but seditions and calunnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imagination (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon the Testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Hie-land or Border theeves greater ingratitude and more lies and vile perjuries than with these phanaticke spirits. And suffer not the principles of them to brooke your land, if ye like to sit at rest; except yee would keep them for trying

your patience, as Socrates did an evill wife. And for preservative against their poison, entertaine and advance the godly, learned, and modest men of the ministerie, whom-of, God be praised, there lacketh not a sufficient number: and by that provision to *bishoppricks* and benefices (*annulling that vile acte of annexation, if ye find it not done to your hande,*) yee shall not only banish their concited paritie, whereof I have spoken, and their other imaginarie grievances, which can neither stand with the order of the church, nor the peace of a common weale and well ruled monarchie; but ye shall also re-establish the olde institutions of the three estates in parliament, which can no otherwise be done: but in this I hope (*if God spare me days*) to make yee a faire entrie; *alwayes where I leave, follow ye my steps.*"

After this plain language, it is impossible not to be diverted by the ludicrous and most unblushing effrontery of Alexander Henderson, who, in his correspondence with Charles I. at Newcastle, (a correspondence which cost the unhappy Scot dear, for he died broken-hearted at having been beaten by the King with his own weapons,) boldly appealed to the *Basilicon Doron* as a proof of the love which James entertained for Presbyterianism.

"Your Majesty knows that King James never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine right: that his Majesty did swear and subscribe to the doctrine, worship, and discipline, of the Church of Scotland; that in the Preface of the Latin edition of *Basilicon Doron*, his Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospel, than the pomp and ceremonies of the Church of England, and that he conceives the Prelates to savour of the Popish Hierarchy."—*First Paper for his Majesty*, sect. 8.

Well might Charles indignantly reply—

"To your last, concerning the King my Father, of happy and famous memory, both for his piety and learning, I must tell you that I had the happiness to know him much better than you; wherefore I desire you not to be too confident in the knowledge of his opinions; for I dare say, should his Ghost now speak, he would tell you, 'That a bloody Reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by God's word,' and that *preces et lachrymæ sunt arma Ecclesie.*"—*Reply*, sect. 8.

The failure of James as an author is not to be denied; but the developement of the Powder Plot has been usually and very untruly attributed to his sagacity as a statesman. Mr. Carwithen has noticed some other assertions respecting that most Providential discovery, namely, that the first intimation of the bloody treason came from Henry IV. of France, who had heard of it from the Jesuits: or that the anonymous Letter addressed to Lord Mounteagle was an artifice of Cecil himself, who was previously acquainted with the motions of the conspirators, and suffered them to proceed to a certain extent. This hypothesis is by no means improbable; but whether it be true or not, there is ample evidence that the common version upon which is founded a belief in

the penetration of the Royal Solomon, is positively false. Ceecil, either knowing the intentions of the Papists, or shrewdly conjecturing them, was the person, or one of the persons, who first made mention of *gunpowder*; and afterwards, with the sound discretion of a veteran courtier, he allowed the credit of this lucky hit (if it were such) to slide gently upon his master's shoulders. The proofs of this fact remain under his own hand-writing, among the Cottonian MSS., out of which one of his Letters to Sir Charles Cornwallis, (Dr. Lingard, we know not why, calls it a *Circular*;) dated November 9, 1605, has been printed in Winwood's *Memorials*, (vol. ii. p. 170,) and contains the following account of the mysterious communication to Lord Mounteagle.

"I imparted the Letter to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, to the end I might receive his opinion, which upon perusing the words of the Letter, and observing the wording, ('that the blow should come without knowledge who hurt them,') we both conceived that it could not be more proper than the time of Parliament, *nor by any other way likely to be attempted than with powder* whilst the King was sitting in that Assembly; of which the Lord Chamberlain conceived more probability, because there was a great vault under the said chamber, which was never used for any thing but for some wood and cole, belonging to the keeper of the Old Palace."

It may be worthy of remark, that the conspiracy of Marino Faliero against the Government of Venice was discovered by a similar train of circumstances. Beltramo Bergamasco, one of the sworn band of insurgents, anxious to save the life of his benefactor, the Patrician Niccolo Lione, warned him not to go forth on the morning of the intended rising. Lord Byron has made the Doge's name a "household word" to English ears, but we do not recollect that the historical coincidence has been pointed out before.

The excellencies of Bishop Andrewes, one of the purest and most Apostolical names by which our Church Annals are adorned, are duly estimated by Mr. Carwithen. The piety, the pulpit-cloquence, the gentle affections, and the domestic virtues of that eminent Prelate, appear to have descended with his name, to one, not long since belonging to our own times; the remembrance of whom will live with life in the hearts of those who knew him, and who, but for his unambitious humility, might have attained temporal dignities similar to those which were possessed by his great namesake. We subjoin Mr. Carwithen's brief character of the intended Primate.

"The acknowledged merit of Andrewes, bishop of Ely, pointed him out as the fit metropolitan of the English church; and the other bishops were so deeply impressed by this conviction, that they formally recom-

mended him to the King. On the character of Andrewes, thus distinguished by the general suffrage of his brethren, who can forbear to dwell?

“By those who had the best opportunities of appreciating its excellence, and who were qualified to bestow on it a discriminative commendation, this eminent man has been called Doctor Andrewes in the schools, Bishop Andrewes in the church, and Saint Andrewes in the closet. In all these capacities, though long since “dead, he yet speaketh.” His theological knowledge, and particularly his skill in the sacred languages, qualified him for taking a prominent part in the last translation of the Bible; his eloquence in the pulpit may be estimated from his sermons, which, though vitiated by the quaintness and pedantry of his age, contain passages worthy of admiration, and even of imitation; his devotions are still one of the best manuals for private use, and their merit will be impressed on the mind more strongly by recurring to the apostrophe of their latest editor: ‘Pray with Bishop Andrewes for one week, and he will be thy companion for the residue of thy years: he will be pleasant in thy life, and at the hour of death he will not forsake thee.’

“Though sanctity and devotion were the most conspicuous features in his character, yet he was remarkable for skill and address in business. His principles of church government were those of Bancroft, but he asserted them without bitterness. The doctrinal Calvinists have never presumed to claim him as their own, and they have been constrained to speak of him with respect. His principles on civil government are a complete refutation of the popular assertion that the Arminians under the House of Stuart were the friends of despotism; for Andrews was moderate, and even liberal, in his political opinions.

“That such a man should have been designated as the most proper head of the Church, is an honour to the judgment of the English prelates. They had reason to believe that the opinion of the King agreed with their own; and under this persuasion, they retired to their respective dioceses. But by desisting from their solicitations they failed in their object. The Earl of Dunbar, taking advantage of his frequent intercourse with James, and of his recent services in the establishment of a Scottish episcopacy, effectually recommended Abbot, Bishop of London, to preside over the Church of England. When James complied, he told Abbot that he had conferred on him the Primacy, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the Earl of Dunbar.”—vol. ii. pp. 232—234.

To the appointment of Abbot may be traced much of the unhappiness which succeeded, and upon which we have little wish to dwell. Indeed, we have so lately entered at large upon the troublous history of the Church in the times of Charles I. that, although our materials are far from being exhausted, it may be seasonable to postpone their employment. Before we even touch upon this period we must in justice recommend to the reader's due attention, Mr. Carwithen's XXIII^d Chapter, which contains an account of the Synod of Dort, and of Montague's subsequent controversy. The intemperance, the want of charity, the intolerant and perse-

cuting spirit of—what shall we call them?—the Remonstrant-Gomarist-Calvinists—are admirably pourtrayed.

“ *Dordrechtii synodus, nodus ; chorus integer, æger ;
Conventus, ventus ; sessio stramen, Amen.*”

The lines are worthy of their theme. For Montague, it is enough to say in his own words (and we earnestly press those words upon the notice of such as enquire the foundation of the doctrine of the Church of England :) “ I am not, nor would be accounted willingly, Arminian, Calvinist, or Lutheran, but a Christian. Again, for Arminianism, I trust and do protest before God and his Angels, that the time is yet to come that ever I read a word of Arminius. The course of my studies was never addressed to modern epitomizers. I betook myself to Scripture, the rule of Faith, interpreted by antiquity, its best exposition.”*

Respecting Laud, we should be better satisfied with more cautiousness of expression than Mr. Carwithen has always employed. “ Bigotry ” is a hard word, and should be reserved for the lips of an enemy. By “ absence of all *pretensions* to sanctity,” we have little doubt that Mr. Carwithen means that the Archbishop despised the formalism of the Puritans, but the phrase may be perverted. Mr. Carwithen, however, certainly does not estimate this great man as highly as we do. He follows Warburton in asserting that Laud “ accelerated the downfall of the Church which he loved, and which under happier circumstances he would have adorned.” We very much doubt the fact. Had he been of a different temper, the Church would have been equally and perhaps earlier overthrown. The axe was laid to the root ; and though a temporizer, by shifting his position, might have saved his own head in the fall, the goodly tree itself could not have escaped on account of the abandonment of its guardian.

Scuribus

Cæsa cecidisset ad terram ubiagna trabes.

Pursuing the thread of the sad story of the Great Rebellion, Mr. Carwithen has a paragraph relative to the winter of 1646, which we are not able to reconcile with his authority.

“ Thus the winter was consumed, while the King passed his anxious hours at Oxford, forsaken by his best friends, and rudely treated by his few discontented followers. The neglect and the insults which he experienced rendered it a difficult because an equal choice, whether he would be the captive of his victorious enemies, or the slave of his own vanquished party. The noble historian draws a veil over this part of the scene, frankly acknowledging that it is impossible to describe it with proper clearness, unless by opening a door to such reflections on the King

* *Appello Cæsarem.*

himself, as seem to call both his wisdom and his steadiness in question."—vol. ii. p. 449.

It is very possible that there may be a passage in Clarendon fully bearing out this statement; but the only one which occurs to our recollection respecting *the winter of 1646*, is of directly opposite tendency, and describes Charles's residence at Oxford as a period of comparative sunshine.

"We left the King at Oxford, free from the trouble and uneasiness of these perpetual and wandering marches, in which he had been so many months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful counsellors and servants, whose affection and loyalty had first engaged them in his services and which stuck to them to the end, and who, if they were not able to give him assistance to stem that mighty torrent that overbore both him and them, paid him still the duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort."—Book ix. vol. v. p. 335. Ed. 1826.

It might have been unfashionable to cite the authority of Charles I. during the controversy on the recent great Ecclesiastical Question by which we have been agitated: and the strong ground of the Coronation Oath was early abandoned, not less to our surprise than to our sorrow. Nevertheless, one of the King's Papers in reply to Henderson (*Vide His Majesty's III^d Paper*, § 7.) appears to us to contain the pith of the argument, and well deserves to have been revived. Mr. Carwithen has stated it, perhaps, yet more clearly than it stands in the original.

"To disengage the King from his Coronation Oath, as far as it related to the Church, Henderson observed, that when an oath has a special regard to the benefit of those to whom the engagement is made, if the parties interested relax upon the point, and dispense with the advantage, the obligation is at an end. Thus, if the two Houses of Parliament agree to repeal a law, the King may conscientiously assent, notwithstanding his personal oath. The King, while he admitted Henderson's principle, denied its application. For if it be inquired for whose benefit the clause in the Coronation Oath was made, the answer must be, it was made to the Church of England. Thus it is not in the power of the two Houses of Parliament to discharge the obligation of the oath. It is only the Church of England, for whose benefit he took it, which can release him from it; and, therefore, when the Church of England, lawfully assembled, shall declare him discharged, then, and not till then, shall he reckon himself at liberty."—vol. ii. pp. 454, 455.

If this reasoning be admitted against the Presbyterians, why is it not equally available against the Roman Catholics?

On the mysterious authorship of the *Eikon Basilike* we confess that we have never been able to advance farther than a suspension of opinion, in which we gladly perceive that we agree with Mr. Carwithen. On one point, perhaps, we differ from him; we

do not consider it in the present day "as a touchstone of party:" that is, although, doubtless, opposite opinions respecting it have for the most part been espoused by men of opposite parties, it is very possible, it is quite certain in our own case, that without yielding to any one in orthodoxy and in loyalty—without being ashamed of avowing ourselves *Church and King* to the very heart's core—nevertheless we might not be able to give our verdict upon the evidence before us, in favour of Charles's claim to Copyright.

"The general resentment of the nation was both deep and loud, and it was heightened by a work published in the King's name, within a few days after his execution. The *Εκων Βασιλικη*, by its appearance at such a crisis, raised the character of the King so highly, that many have ascribed to this book alone the subsequent restoration of his family. Milton has compared its effects, in exciting the compassion of the people towards the unfortunate Charles, to the feelings of the tumultuous Romans, when Anthony read to them the will of Cæsar.

"At the time of its publication, Milton himself made a feeble attempt to impugn its genuineness: after the Restoration, the claims of Charles to the authorship of this work were controverted with more success; and, in the present day, who wrote the *Εκων Βασιλικη*? is one of those questions which may justly be considered as a touchstone of party.

"The sum of the researches into this controverted question shall be briefly stated. Gauden, afterwards successively Bishop of Exeter and Worcester, is the claimant who has been opposed to Charles for the authorship of this work. The external evidence is nicely balanced; so nicely, that an historian, friendly to the Stuarts, has acknowledged, that it is not easy to fix any opinion which will be entirely satisfactory; and an eminent prelate, not favourable to the Stuarts, has, with the same frankness, confessed, that it is the most uncertain matter which he ever undertook to examine. On that external evidence, which two inquirers of great acuteness, and of an opposite bias, have left in suspense, the historian may decline to give a decisive opinion. As to the internal evidence, it preponderates greatly in favour of the King. If Gauden wrote the *Εκων Βασιλικη*, he rose above himself. In whatever way the question may be determined, it will detract nothing from the literary reputation of Charles, or from the moral infamy of Gauden."—vol. ii. pp. 493—495.

The concluding chapter of these Volumes, the XXIXth, describes the state of our Church during Cromwell's usurpation; and Mr. Carwithen appears to have been anxious to disengage himself from this ungrateful review with as much speed as possible. We await the remainder of his Work with very eager expectation; for we feel confident that he will guide us with a firm step, a steady hand, and a searching eye, through a path of no small difficulty and intricacy. That he will satisfy *all* parties is little to be expected: nor, indeed, is it to be wished, for when did this happen to any one who has dared to speak fearlessly, faith-

fully, and truly? but we are mistaken in his temper and his spirit, if he is to be diverted from his fixed course by any apprehension *ne irriteretur crabrones*. We have only to urge him to proceed as he has commenced, and he will then be certain of winning attention, applause, and gratitude, from those for whose suffrages alone, unless we are much deceived, he is solicitous; and he will contribute not a little to the benefit of others, while he at the same time increases his own well-merited reputation.

ART. III.—*Of Christian Sincerity*. By John Penrose, M. A. formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. Oxford: Parker. 8vo. 1829. pp. 182. 5s.

WE have in this work a portable, compact, and commodious manual, for the use of those very uncomfortable persons who may be troubled with fidgetty and fretful consciences—whose path is overgrown with an entangling and thorny scrupulosity—who are constantly picking their way as if they were in fear of puddle or pollution at every step—who, like Panurge, “walk gingerly, as if they trod upon eggs”—whose road through the world seems, at times, to be as perilous and uneasy, as if they had been condemned “to course their own shadows over four-inch bridges.” The class in question, it may be presumed, is not remarkably numerous. Scruples and misgivings, and all the various symptoms of a qualmish and dyspeptic conscience, form, we suspect, upon the whole, but a moderate item in the catalogue of human disquietudes. We are “troubled indeed about many things,” and are perpetually “disquieting ourselves in vain;” but the blunders of our moral arithmetic are seldom, it is to be feared, among the most serious of our disturbances. In this world of turmoil we are apt to estimate lightly, or altogether to overlook, not merely the errors of the *working*, but the false principles that are constantly insinuating themselves into the computation. Some, however, there unquestionably are, who are strangers to this self-complacent equanimity; some, whose course seems beset with constant difficulty; whose faith and virtue appear to be incessantly engaged in a wearisome and harassing navigation through an archipelago of perplexities; who see on the right a quicksand, on the left a rock, and who dream of nothing but disaster and shipwreck. But, although the number of these nervous moralists may be comparatively trifling, their apprehensions are in the

highest degree entitled to respect and tenderness. One is therefore naturally glad to help them to a method of treatment, at once soothing and tonic, and divested of all the formidable ostentation of a regular course of casuistic discipline.

There is another description of persons—probably more numerous than that which we have just been contemplating—who, having arranged matters very much to their satisfaction with reference to their own principles of action, have leisure for profound and solemn speculation respecting the condition of their neighbours. It is sometimes, however, unfortunately found, that this benevolent exercise is not, eventually, quite so favourable as could be desired to the temper of those who indulge in it. It inevitably leads to comparisons; and comparisons, we all know, are proverbially odious. It is further apt to throw the mind into a state somewhat resembling that of acetous fermentation; and to generate certain acid and deleterious principles, which indicate that the milk of human kindness has lost its natural predominance in their system. Strange as it may seem, this result has been often observed to follow from an immoderate activity of *secretion* in the critical faculty, when stimulated by a mixture of zeal and curiosity. The elements thus evolved, are found to be very destructive to the bland and gentle qualities of our moral composition, and to give it, in the end, a harsh and corrosive property: and when that is the case, it is high time to think of some application analogous to those remedies which are occasionally resorted to for sweetening the blood. Now, for this purpose, we may safely recommend the preparation here offered us by Mr. Penrose. It is a simple, mild, and rational compound; and, we should imagine, could hardly fail to *sweeten the blood*, when its temperament has suffered from immoderate agitation on account of the moral and spiritual obliquities of our brethren!

There is so much admirable good sense and good feeling in the little volume now before us, that we cannot but regret very deeply the admission into it, of one peculiarity, which may considerably impair its perspicuity, and consequently its usefulness; and against which it may therefore be advisable at once to caution the reader. Mr. Penrose has, we know not why, deemed it expedient to depart from the ordinary usage of speech, and to give to the word *sincerity* a much more comprehensive acceptation than, we believe, has ever hitherto been assigned to it. He pronounces broadly, in the outset of his inquiry, that all conduct, which runs counter to *any virtue whatever*, may, with perfect justice, be termed *insincere*.* And he proceeds to fortify this

* P. 5.

position, by reference to the case of Baxter, who, in his latter days, (when age had somewhat mellowed his fervid temper, and precipitated the tartar which had long been floating in his system,) desired forgiveness of God and man for the rash and offensive bluntness, with which he had been long accustomed to speak of things "*just as they were.*" To this example Mr. Penrose appeals, for the purpose of illustrating his general position, and of showing, that, to use language, which, though conformable to truth, is yet wanting in respect and tenderness for other people, is not only to violate prudence and charity, but to forfeit the character of an irreproachable and entire sincerity.*

Now, if the meaning of the author be simply this—that the deliberate and habitual violation of any one virtue is inconsistent with a sincere profession of morality or religion, the assertion is, of course, safe from all opposition; it reposes in that security which is the legitimate and undisturbed inheritance of the whole family of truisms. But truisms are a *feeble folk*, with whom Mr. Penrose is little in the habit of dealing. We are therefore compelled to presume that every departure from the line of moral rectitude—whether from carelessness, or infirmity, or ignorance, or unsteadiness, or from whatever cause—is, in his estimate, a violation of the *specific* virtue of sincerity; that all moral obliquities, without exception, involve a direct transgression of this one principle; and that a man cannot violate the smallest tittle of the law of God without being, to that extent, a hypocrite. Supposing this to be the proposition of Mr. Penrose, all that can be said of it is, that, if it be his pleasure to invest this word, sincerity, with such a vast compass of meaning, and to identify it with all moral and religious perfection, there can be no question of his right to do so: but we suspect that he will find but little comfort and advantage in the experiment, which can, in the end, be productive of nothing but indistinctness and confusion.

The very example produced by Mr. Penrose, in support of his proposition, appears to us absolutely fatal to it. When Baxter, instructed by age and reflection, had acquired the wisdom to abstain from all needless asperity of language, he was, doubtless, a much more prudent and more amiable man, than when he was perpetually arming the prejudices of people against the truth, by an importunate and injudicious assertion of her minutest claims: but we cannot understand how it can be said that he was a more sincere or honest man. His unaccommodating plainness of speech may, perhaps, have been connected, more or less intimately, with the sinful principle of pride or self-will; but this connection was probably hidden from the man himself, in the heat of controversy,

* P. 7.

or the impetuosity of his more fervid and youthful days. A long course of troublesome experience may have been needful to teach him, that the practice, which he once regarded as a service due to truth, was, in reality, hostile to the genuine scriptural meekness of wisdom. Every one, who has studied the character of Baxter, must surely perceive, that both the inconsiderate freedom of utterance, and the more useful habit of forbearance and moderation, were equally removed from the guilt of hollowness or dishonesty.

The error of loading the word *sincerity* with such a weight of signification, is one which pervades the whole treatise before us. In a subsequent part of it,* the author observes, very justly, that capitious scruples are not to be dignified with the title of sincerity. But then he adds, that an impartial sincerity would teach us to sacrifice the mint and cummin rather than the weightier matters of the Law. Now here again we contend that it is not the function of sincerity to make this distinction. It is rather the province of sound judgment and discretion; though, doubtless, sincerity of heart may greatly quicken the application and exercise of this faculty.

It is further affirmed in another place, that it is "better and *more sincere* to defer in some things both our opinions and our practice to a just and natural authority, than to disunite any of the links of Christian charity."† That such deference is *better* than a fastidious and obstinate adherence to traditional or hereditary prepossessions, it would be insane to question; but it is exceedingly questionable whether it would be *more sincere*; for it is not sincerity that suggests the submission or the compromise. It may be true that sincerity would not be wounded by it, and therefore might not remonstrate against it: but it is not the *work* of sincerity; it is the *work* of wisdom, of good sense, of an enlightened conscience, declaring how far the concession can be carried without a sacrifice of Christian simplicity. St. Paul was all things to all men in a way quite consistent with sincerity, and his entire single-heartedness may have helped most effectively to relieve his judgment from embarrassment and difficulty. But yet we should scarcely venture to pronounce that he was less *sincere* when he was making havoc of the church, and haling men and women to prison, than when he was winning souls to his Saviour by an unparalleled combination of zeal, sagacity, and benevolence.

We may perhaps make our views on this matter more intelligible by reference to a picturesque and interesting portion of

* P. 78.

† P. 96.

classical history. In the ninth book of Herodotus, we have a very graphic description of the movements which preceded the battle between the Greeks and Persians near Plataea, from which it appears that the allied armies had agreed, for various unquestionable reasons, to retreat from the ground they then occupied to a position more advantageous for encountering the enemy. This wise resolution was embarrassed by the commander of a column of the Lacedemonian force, named Amompharetus, who appears to have been a lion-hearted and, withal, an exceedingly pig-headed Spartan. He positively refused to stir an inch! He had no notion, not he, of retrograde movements in the face of an enemy; and that he might suit the action to the word, he seized a great stone with both his hands, and casting it on the ground before the feet of his general, Pausanias, exclaimed, "There's my vote against running away from these barbarians."* And it was not till the rest of the army began to march away to their new position, that he slowly and sullenly followed, in order to save his division from utter destruction. Now in all this there was abundance of sincerity, together with such a plentiful lack of common sense, as well warranted the epithet of madman which was instantly lavished upon him by his astonished and enraged commander. And if the story had been reversed, if this monster of obstinacy had yielded, like the rest of his brethren, to the authority of his general, no one could deny that he would have exercised a much sounder discretion, and that he would have better consulted the good of his country by this timely submission, than by his stiff adherence to what he esteemed as the "ancient laws and prerogatives of the wars:" but surely it never can be said that he would have acted more like an honest man. He would have shown much less of incorrigible wrong-headedness, but certainly not more of true-hearted devotion to the honour and discipline of Sparta.

There seems to be no end of the confusion which must arise from a scheme which brings the correction of prejudice and the cure of moral fastidiousness within the immediate province of sincerity. We have all heard of devotees who have preferred risking their lives to the violation of a fast. In such cases, if the starving religionist were to consent to swallow a morsel for the preservation of life or health, we might pronounce him sounder of under-

* 'Ο Αμμοφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρων ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τοῦ Πausανίω, ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι, ἔφη, μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους (λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους.) 'Ο δὲ (Πausανίας) μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρονήσαντα καλέων ἐκείνον—κ. τ. λ. Herodot. ix. 54. It will of course be recollected by our readers, that in those times, a stone, or pebble, (ψῆφος), was generally used as a balloting ball.

standing, but certainly not more observant of the law of sincerity. We have read of an Indian prince* who professed that he accounted the minutest ceremony of his religion as of more worth than a hundred thousand such lives as his own. Suppose him brought to a better mind, and enabled to see the immense absurdity of his superstitious scruples, could it be reasonably said that sincerity was peculiarly honoured by his conversion? How can a human being render a more profound homage to that power, than by his readiness to perish for the merest atom of the law under which he lives? The truth is, that the man who rids himself of silly scruples or prepossessions achieves a triumph over erroneous judgment or narrowness of mind, but not over insincerity. He has corrected his folly, not his hypocrisy. He has swept away thorns and brambles from his path, not rectified its obliquity. To deliver us from vexatious and absurd precision is the achievement of patience, candour, and sagacity; and sincerity may be allowed to "attend the triumph, and partake the gale;" but we cannot perceive that she has any positive right to a share in the honour of the victory.

In another part of his Essay, Mr. Penrose insists strongly and irresistibly upon the necessity of preserving the law of charity, even towards those who differ from us in something of an illiberal and injurious spirit: and in order to give additional cogency to his statements, he adds, "thus only is it possible for us to be, in the full sense, *sincere*:—*sincere*, as is said by the Apostle, *and without offence*."† This is another instance in which a much greater *fullness of sense* is ascribed to this word than it has hitherto been usual to give it. The words of the Apostle furnish no support to this innovation. He intimates that Christians should be pure in heart, and, in their lives, void of scandal and offence. But how is it to be inferred from this, that, in his estimation, every violation of charity involves a breach of sincerity also?

To us,—we confess,—a multitude of the strange scruples and repulsive prejudices, and odd notions, and grotesque whims, which adhere to the most solemn subjects, as they present themselves to many understandings, have some resemblance to the various superfluities, and incommodious appendages, and wasteful applications of force, which often belong to ancient mechanism or contrivance. We come at last to see that they may be dispensed with, and that we can do better without them; but the resistance offered to the process of improvement or simplification is frequently quite prodigious. And when this resistance has

* La Croze, vol. ii. p. 70.

† P. 101, ἐιλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι, Phil. i. 10.

been overcome, we may fairly congratulate ourselves on the triumph of our docility or our intelligence. It might then be said, that at last our eyes were opened to our true advantage or comfort; but it would be very strange to say that we were on that account devoted to our interest with more cordial singleness of purpose than before. The modern mechanist or manufacturer is not a whit more earnest in his pursuit of wealth than his predecessor, who, generations ago, may have adhered, with stupid obstinacy, to established and immemorial awkwardnesses and inconveniences. Our ancestors murdered each other with just as hearty good-will when they had nothing but clumsy matchlocks, as we now do with all the *inestimable* advantages of firelock, rifle, and bayonet. They wove and spun, ages ago, as lustily, though not so effectively, as we now do with power-loom^s and spinning-jennies. The rejection of our mental incumbrances, and the improvement of our moral reasoning, seem to proceed in something of a similar manner. They require the application of a mind open to conviction, but they do not *necessarily* imply a more intense exercise of the virtue of sincerity.

In p. 102, the author speaks of a sincerity which takes in all our duties without favoritism or partiality, as if it were the *special* office of sincerity to exclude all partiality. Undoubtedly, a writer may give to the quality which does this what name he pleases. He may call it candour, equity, righteousness; he may, if he thinks proper, entitle it sincerity, but in so doing he will assuredly deviate from the usage of his mother-tongue, which hitherto has confined this word to the duty of indicating, that our professions are unfeigned, and in strict conformity with our feelings and convictions. A sincere desire to deliver our minds from any undue influence, and to divest any particular duty or virtue of an overpowering dominion, may, indeed, wonderfully quicken us in the discovery and application of a proper moral discipline. It may give us steadiness of hand, and enable us to hold the balance without trembling; but it does not itself hold the balance.

We are further told by Mr. Penrose, that scepticism is as injurious to *sincerity* of character, as to the final acquisition of truth. To the final acquisition of truth it is indeed most fatally adverse; because, to the sceptic, doubt is often like the basilisk—it places him under a sort of malignant and irresistible fascination, so that he cannot take up the truth when it actually lies before his feet. But we apprehend that it *may* reduce a man to this miserable condition without inevitably making havoc with his honesty of intention. He may have brought himself by insensible degrees into a habit of doubting upon every subject, just as a man by a course of quackery may destroy the tone of his constitution. He

undoubtedly will have to answer for the pernicious process by which he has so far abused his faculties as to bring them to such a state. But yet we can imagine that he may all the while have been quite unconscious of any approach to insincerity. The victim of empiricism may have been earnestly in pursuit of health—the victim of Pyrrhonism *may* have been as earnestly in pursuit of truth.

It is said very justly, (p. 103,) that a certain degree of *moral inertia* is desirable, in order that our movements may be as free as possible from irregularity and unsteadiness, and that we may not be at the mercy of slight and casual impulses. But yet we cannot discern that the absence of this property is unavoidably fatal to sincerity. The quality may be infinitely valuable in saving us from constant “anxiety and flutter of mind.” It is a principle which may keep us from that sort of mental paralysis, which disables us for the exertion of seizing upon the truth. It may powerfully help to preserve the solidity and robustness of the understanding. But it can hardly be affirmed that the want of this sluggishness, and averseness to change, is *necessarily* followed by an impaired integrity of heart. Nothing good, it is true, can be said for that levity of mind which may make men credulous, even while they are strutting and fretting in all the poor and petty arrogance of a pretended freedom from the trammels of the nurse and the priest; which may make them dupes while they are laughing at the gullibility of the rest of mankind; which may convert them into the sport of every passing breath of doubt, while they fancy themselves athletic enough to rend asunder the knottiest prejudices. Nothing good can be said for this unhappy weakness; and we merely assert, that it will be difficult to show how sincerity is the virtue that must inevitably and peculiarly suffer from this pernicious defect. It is true that this habit of uncertainty, being *generally* hostile to the intellectual and moral health, may at last, perhaps, undermine our sincerity itself, in common with all other valuable qualities. There may be a universal sapping of the solid substratum of character. But it is not eminently or directly that sincerity suffers by this destruction of foundations, but only incidentally—only as it is a part of the moral fabric. The sceptical tendency may indeed be sternly resisted without danger or disadvantage to the integrity of the mind or heart: a man may repel the temptation to eternal doubt and misgiving, without the slightest approximation to hypocrisy; and by this very resistance, the whole moral constitution may be signally improved and invigorated; and so, sincerity, among other virtues, may, inclusively, partake of the general benefit: but it is not very easy to conceive any other way in which sincerity is

peculiarly protected by this moral inertness, and resistance to impulse.

There is one mode, indeed, in which scepticism may be dangerous to integrity, when brought into contact with the practical concerns of life. The man who is beset by doubts, is, of all others, most formidably environed by a peculiar class of temptations. The interests and the engagements of this world may constantly require of him certain compliances, to which the voice of the inward man affords no sanction, if it offers no positive contradiction. The doubter may be called upon, for instance, to make declarations, or to give pledges, which his conscience, if it does not solemnly condemn, cannot confidently approve; and which it may be impossible for him to decline without the most calamitous sacrifice of his interests; and the current of danger which steadily sets in from this quarter may threaten heavy damage, if not total destruction, to sincerity. There may be yet a more dreadful effect of this want of mental tenacity. The mind which was "unstable as water," may, at last, congeal into a cold and rigid insensibility. The demon of Pyrrhonism, which at first inflicted unsteadiness of sight, may, after long possession, give to the moral vision a fixed and icy glare, which can gaze on sacred and divine things without perception of their form, or comeliness, or grandeur. There is "no speculation in the eye" of the confirmed and resolute sceptic. To him virtue and vice, religion and impiety, are mere lifeless abstractions;

Atque ideo intrepidus quæcumque altaria tangit.

And when this is the case, of course there is an end of all sincerity. A cold and creeping poison has been the death of it; a mortal drug which, beginning at the extremities, at last invades and freezes the heart. A man whose moral nature is brought to this unnatural pass, however sedate may be his demeanour, is no more to be trusted than a tiger or a rattlesnake. He may properly be numbered among the

"Courteous destroyers, affable wolves, meek bears."

And if this be the meaning of the author, his position is beyond all question. But if he means more than this—if he means that the scrupulously inquisitive habit has a tendency naturally, directly, and unavoidably adverse to honesty of heart—we apprehend that he will find it an affair of almost desperate difficulty to establish this assertion. We have no doubt that the reverse is frequently exemplified; that there have been, and that there are, individuals ardently devoted to truth, who seek after it more than after hidden treasure, and who yet are kept perpetually on the rack by

an unsteadiness of vision which disables them from pursuing it, or by the perplexity of the labyrinth which seems to baffle their sagacity.

The reality of the matter seems to be this: when, from any cause, a man fails, either to purge his sight of prejudices and errors, or to clear his heart of the bitterness which adheres to a scrupulous or bigoted stiffness in opinion, this failure deprives his sincerity, not necessarily of its essence, but of much of its grace and virtue. It does not follow that it *must* destroy or weaken his probity, although it makes that quality far less winning and estimable than it otherwise would be. The North American savage firmly and sincerely believes every one to be utterly contemptible who cannot allow himself to be roasted to death with as little appearance of sensibility as a sirloin of beef. He therefore honestly conceives that the infliction of frightful torments on his prisoner is nothing more than a laudable exercise of his own ingenuity, and a legitimate test of the worth and manhood of his victim. Civilization may in time soften this sort of ferocious stoicism. The barbarian may at last come to perceive, that a man does not necessarily forfeit the dignity of his nature, by showing that he perceives the difference between a down bed and a red-hot gridiron; and that a hero may abstain, without despicable weakness, from deliberately tearing his captive to fragments: but this does not imply any change for the better in his sincerity. He was as sincere in his monstrous persuasion, that apathy is the perfection of human virtue, and cruelty the most exalted privilege of victory, as he may now be in the belief that a brave man is not bound absolutely to forget himself to iron. The difference is, that his sincerity is now more producible and amiable than it was; it is fit for admission into humane and civilized society: whereas, before, it was a proper inhabitant only of the forest and the wilderness.

Mr. Penrose will easily do us the justice to believe, that we have not been tempted into this train of observation by a captious and hypercritical spirit. We are persuaded, on the contrary, that there is little, if any, *essential* difference of opinion between us. But we are likewise satisfied that his deviation from ordinary language in this instance may deprive his speculations of the appearance of mastery and precision of thought, and may thus inflict upon them most egregious injustice. No man living, we believe, knows better than Mr. Penrose the value of a watchful exactness in the use of words; no man is more wisely jealous than he of a lax and rhetorical application of them. We, therefore, with the deepest respect for his judgment, submit it to his consideration, whether his *Essay* would not be materially improved by restricting this word, *sincerity*, to that region of signification which has

hitherto been allotted to it; and forbearing to identify it, or to confound it, with candour, equity, and impartiality of mind. At all events we would venture to suggest, that if he is not satisfied with the view we have taken of the matter, he will, on revising his treatise, introduce such statements and limitations, as may furnish a more distinct and full disclosure of his own conceptions on this subject.

In the same spirit of respectful suggestion, we venture to advert to another portion of this work, in which the notions of the author appear to be incompletely wrought out, and which consequently labours under some defect of perspicuity. Mr. Penrose is considering * the case of those, who are conscious that they are too deficient in penetration, activity, or perseverance, to venture on an excursive and adventurous search after truth; and who, for that reason, find it safer and less harassing to keep within the lines which have been drawn around them by institutions and customs; by forms, and creeds, and education:—persons who are apprehensive lest the pursuit of new acquisitions in virtue and intelligence, should reward them with nothing better than the loss of older and more valuable possessions. To such persons he recommends, that they should “bring their inclination in aid of those arguments, by which their anxiety on this point may be averted, and exclude many fears which their understanding cannot repel:” and he assures them that “the *Reason* may wisely combine with that which has been called by Aristotle the *irrational* part of the soul, and that in this combination she may concede something to her ally.” Now we hugely suspect that the “irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous” spirits, here under contemplation, will be able to make very little of this good advice, in its present form. We are not quite certain that we distinctly comprehend the drift of it ourselves. We do not perceive very clearly what is the precise sort of aid which the *inclination* is expected to render in such a case; whether it is to tempt the men from their entrenchments, or to induce them to make the best use of the advantages to be found within them. We suppose, however, the meaning of Mr. Penrose, in effect, to be this—that *where there is a will there is a way*—and that when men feel themselves unable to rely on their own intellectual or moral resources, sufficiently to venture on an excursion of discovery, they should be willing and ready to content themselves with the results collected by more enterprizing inquirers;—that if they cannot muster courage to explore the promised land for themselves, they may, at least, rid themselves of all wilful and obstinate distrust of the persons who have executed that hazardous mission,

* P. 105, &c.

and may confidently accept the report which they bring back with them;—nay, that they may positively *dispose* themselves to a belief of that report, unless it should make any intolerable demands on their credulity;—and that they may do this with perfect sincerity, and without any essential surrender of integrity or independence of mind. In short, where we are unable to find the whole truth for ourselves, our love of it should by all means prompt us to turn to the best account the researches and the labours of other people.

We repeat, we are not, by any means, certain that we have accurately expressed the meaning of Mr. P., and we are the more diffident of this, because, if this be his mind, the timid and quiet persons, who are keeping behind their entrenchments, might, peradventure, reply to the above counsels by saying, “We have already been acting precisely in the spirit of your recommendation. We are, ourselves, unqualified for the complete investigation of the truth; but then, here are lines and boundaries which have been marked out for us by persons entitled to our veneration and our confidence; they enclose a territory which satisfies our wishes, and our conscience; and reason and *inclination* combine to retain us within them.” If this were to be their reply, we know not how we should rejoin to it; we do not see what more could well be expected from this compromise between the rational and irrational part of the soul. We suspect, therefore, that there is something, in the advice here offered, more than we have succeeded in divining, and which needs only a somewhat ampler exposition by the author, for its full and satisfactory developement.

That such entrenchments, as are here adverted to, are absolutely needed by a large portion of mankind, cannot for a moment be doubted; and the uses of them are very ably illustrated by Mr. Penrose himself. He has shown, beyond all question, that a reasonable reliance on those defences, is perfectly consistent with Christian sincerity. He has stated, with great truth, that we may listen to the voice of the Church, as the jury listens to the directions of the judge, with respect and veneration, with a tractable disposition, with the docility which becomes those who are in the presence of superior knowledge, experience, and wisdom. The temper with which the pious protestant submits to such decisions, is totally different from a slavish subjection to *infallible* authority; as different, to say the least, as a submission to a constitutional legislature is from prostration before the will of a capricious autocrat. “That *mere* birth, or education, or that any *un-reasoning* impulse or preference should be allowed to decide for us, is evidently inconsistent with sincerity.” But such, unfortunately, is the condition of this world, that an enormous propor-

tion of mankind, as to human apprehension it appears, are placed almost at the mercy of circumstances with regard to their religious persuasion, as well as their secular interests. For mysterious and unsearchable reasons, it appears to be the will of Providence that so it should be. And such being the case, what is the duty of a rational and religious being, but to conform to this scheme of things; to conform, that is,—not by indolently throwing away the aids and appliances which may present themselves,—for the exercise of his own judgment upon such matters,—not by turning over the care of his spiritual concerns to men of a peculiar trade—not by treating his religion as a thing which the priest may take home with him, and manage according to the rules of his craft, leaving the man himself to go abroad, and to trade, and deal, and converse, perhaps to cheat, and to revel, and to pass his life, with as much religion as an ox:—this is not the sort of conformity which the visible system of Providence requires. The way in which a man is to conform, is, by extracting all the good, which his capacities enable him, from the circumstances in which he is placed; to reject the solicitings of mere caprice, or vanity, or self-importance, or personal interest, when they *alone* are tempting him to change; to give a candid and reverent but *cautious* hearing to counsels, which invite him to quit his entrenchments, or which tend to weaken his confidence in their strength and security. If these rules and principles were observed, we should not be condemned to behold, on the one hand, such vast portions of the human race locked and bolted within the adamantine walls of some ruthless superstition; neither, on the other hand, should we see such an endless variety of unconnected inclosures, each occupied by its own little garrison, with a full reliance on its impregnable and consecrated strength. And lastly, we should be spared the sight of such multitudes, as now are to be found, wandering throughout the wilderness, *sub luce malignâ*, without guidance, without shelter, without steadiness of purpose, and straying, it is to be feared, toward the confines of the valley of the shadow of death.

With regard to the settlement of our convictions, relative to morals, or religion, or indeed any other subject, there is one invaluable caution suggested by Mr. Penrose, which it would be very useful for all feeble thinkers to keep in mind. It has been observed by Dr. Whately,* and probably by hundreds of other writers long before he was born, that a man may bring himself, if he will, to *believe* almost any thing; but it is not always remembered, or even suspected, that it is quite as easy for men to bring themselves, to *doubt*, as it is to bring themselves to *believe*

* Essay on Love of Truth, p. 25.

any thing: and we are disposed to agree with Mr. Penrose, that this tendency is the more mischievous of the two, (or at least quite as mischievous,) and that it may be resisted with equal sincerity. One grand source of the mischief and the danger is the self-deception which often attends the doubter, throughout his progress. While he is winning his uneasy way, perhaps towards the castle of Giant Despair, he may flatter himself that he is going straight forward towards the fortress and temple of Truth. The spirit of credulous submission is, to be sure, degrading enough. If yielded to, it will either pen a man up, like a tame brute, or suffer him to walk abroad only in a beaten path. But the spirit of Scepticism is, in truth, no "harmless fairy," but a mischievous and lying imp, which often plays the *jack o' lantern* with those who follow it. We cannot help thinking, that the path of those unhappy persons who pursue the lure of this unsteady power, may not unaptly be represented by the wanderings of those illustrious worthies, Trinculo and Stephano, when, "reeling ripe," and full of their own importance, they followed after the tabor of the subtle Ariel,—the music, as they themselves describe it, "played by the picture of *nobody*."

—————Then I beat my tabor,
At which, like unbacked colts, they pricked their ears,
Advanced their eye-lids, lifted up their noses,
As they smelt music; so I charmed their ears.
That, calf-like, they my lowing followed, through
Toothed briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns,
Which entered their frail shins: at last I left them
In the filthy mantled pool,————
There dancing up to the elms.

Tempest.

We really believe this to be a tolerably correct representation of the fate of many, who, despising all mortal guidance, have insanely given themselves up to a fantastic influence, which, at the last, will surely leave them engulfed in the mire. Let the unstable and the unwary take warning by their fate. Let them remember that the conceit of independence, like a revolutionary passion for freedom, often terminates in hopeless slavery and debasement.

The case of those who are both irresolute and melancholy—of those too who, though they have not force of character to judge confidently for themselves, are yet fretfully impatient of all mortal authority—the case of such persons is deserving of more solemn consideration. We know not, however, what better can be done with them, than to recommend to their devoutest attention the maxim of Mr. Penrose, that the tendency to doubt is to the full as dangerous as the tendency to believe. If credulity fixes the

spirit down to the earth, scepticism may let it loose to hopeless and fatal dissipation. Between these two extremes there must be some middle state, in which the soul may move naturally as in its own appropriate element—a state in which the power of faith and the power of free inquiry may combine, like two independent forces, and may, between them, give to the mind a direction, which shall carry it forward towards the throne of the Almighty.

In the sixth and seventh Chapters, we have some very valuable remarks on the influence exerted by worldly intercourse, whether of business or amusement, upon religious sincerity. There is no topic perhaps which gives more frequent occasion to feeble and vexatious dogmatizings; none which more urgently demands, on the part of a moral teacher, that union of delicacy and vigour which is found in the proboscis of the elephant. There is a class of persons whose morality bristleth all over with petty scruples; whose virtue is horrent and prickly with small austerities; so that innocence, cheerfulness, and gaiety, are fearful of approaching it, lest they should be irritated and worried by it out of all sublunary indulgences and recreations. When these plaguy whims get possession of a fair and amiable mind, they seem to resemble so many burs in the ringlets of a *comely and delicate woman*: they are unseemly and troublesome, and it often requires a world of patience to disentangle them without giving pain. To get rid of these annoyances is one of the most difficult duties of a moralist. There is nothing so teasing and puzzling as the casuistry with which diminutive minds contrive to perplex the most ordinary duties, concerns, and relaxations of life. One is sometimes provoked by it to an impatience, which is ready to cut the knot instead of attempting to unravel it. “Here are we,” said Samuel Johnson, indignantly, to one of these poor dealers in moral grains and atoms—“Here are we, inhabiting a world which is bursting with sin and sorrow, and you come to me with your paltry misgivings about ends of packthread and fragments of paper.” Here are we, it may be added, beset with awful responsibilities—with our passions to subdue, and our vices to exterminate—with the interests both secular and eternal of ourselves and our dependents constantly weighing on our thoughts—and yet we are to be teased out of our lives with questions, whether a game at whist or piquet is consistent with a state of salvation? Whether dancing is an occupation suited to a being who is born for eternity? Whether a young lady can make her appearance at a county ball, without forfeiting all claim to the honours of a religious character? Such are the shreds of horsehair which some people delight benevolently to scatter over their neighbours, thus converting their *up-*

rising and their down-sitting, their activity and their repose, into one perpetual and fretting penance. If phylacteries were in fashion, surely we should never think of taking the trifles of mint and cummin for frontlets on our eyes, or for tokens upon our hands; we should bind there the weightier and holier matters of the law. And doubtless it would be well if many of our modern casuists were to imbibe something more of the spirit of this rule.

We are no advocates for frivolity, or dissipation, or waste of time; nay, more, we regard with the profoundest compassion those ill-starred persons, to whom cards, or dice, or quadrilles, or, dearer than all, the delights of being half squeezed, and suffocated, and stewed to *death*, are among the prime necessities of *life*! But, notwithstanding these yearnings towards an unhappy race, we must avow that we can discern nothing more appalling or dangerous in the relaxation of an occasional rubber, than in the tough and trying conflict of a game at chess; and that we can hardly imagine a more humanizing, refined, and unexceptionable intercourse, than that which is promoted by the *occasional* assembling of the families of the gentry and nobility at a ball—a meeting, in which the younger persons are under the immediate and watchful custody of their relatives and parents. We are aware that a man may proceed, from the tranquillity of the domestic game, through all the gradations which terminate in the frenzied agonies of the gambling-house. We are aware that the love of an animating and graceful exercise *may* degenerate into a wild passion for scenes of fatal dissipation. All this we know; and to all this every body knows the answer—namely, that to proscribe all the enjoyments or pastimes which human folly or frailty may abuse, would be, in effect, to clothe the creation in a livery of drab-colour, or to lay it open to the incursion of demons whose livery is blue! And we cannot imagine that the cause of religion or virtue would be much advanced by either of those calamities.

But the thing which most of all keeps the brow in a perpetual conflict between a frown and a smile, is the magnanimous inconsistency frequently betrayed by the very individuals, who are for trussing up our manners into such awful symmetry and precision. We have known people who have thought that to enter a theatre was almost to step within the very confines of reprobation: and when pressed for their reasons for this austere judgment, they have replied—that dramatic entertainments are not among the necessities of life, and that therefore we cannot be under any overpowering temptation to pay for them a price, which may, by possibility, involve the compromise of a single iota of morality; that theatrical establishments cannot be maintained without giving encouragement, directly or indirectly, to much

laxity of morals; and that therefore it is the duty of every Christian to abstain from giving them support. And yet the very persons who pronounced this decision, were every day of their lives, with relish and conscience equally undisturbed, imbibing tea sweetened by the toil of kidnapped and enslaved Africans! The question, whether or not sugar can fairly be called a necessary of life, seems never once to have crossed their meditations! Neither did it occur to them to consider, whether there could be any comparison between all the evils which imagination can attach to the idea of a playhouse, and the hideous abominations which cleave to the institution of slavery. They eschewed *recreations* which they conceived to be more or less connected with corruption of manners; but had no sort of objection to *luxuries* obtained by the captivity and degradation of millions of their fellow-creatures!

We remember to have heard, many years since, of a family whose faces were fixed like a flint against the functions of the dancing-master; who were quite satisfied that the five positions were little better than a sort of quinquarticular compact with the author of all evil; and who were resolved that no female of their family should be taught to imitate the ambling and mincing of the daughters of Zion. For some time this resolution was adhered to with commendable inflexibility. It happened, however, that one of the young ladies exhibited few symptoms of native and untutored gracefulness. Her carriage and demeanour were such as, unless corrected, threatened to be scarcely producible in the world of dukes and duchesses, or even of simple squires and their dames. What was to be done? "To write and read may come by nature," but here was an instance which seemed to show that, in a certain sense, to be "well favoured is the gift of fortune." The easy and elegant deportment was not to be had, without the purchased services of some one among the *dii majores* or *minores* of the dance. The oracles of the religious world were accordingly consulted; and the response was, that the "*polished corner*" in question might be allowed for once to conform to a pagan example,* and to follow the lyre (or the kit) till a due freedom of movement should be acquired!

We earnestly desire not to be mistaken. Nothing can be further from our intention than to enter a sweeping impeachment against the sincerity of the persons who task themselves so sorely with the fractional computations of moral arithmetic; who are so solicitous about the dust and filings which may be thrown off in the mighty operations of the greater ethics. Our object is, simply to show the endless, and sometimes ridiculous, embarrassment,

* Movit Amphion *lapides*.

which must frequently result from a resolution to allow not one inch of neutral or doubtful territory between the regions of virtue and of vice, and to stamp every action, however insignificant, with the image and superscription of righteousness, or to brand it with the mark of positive reprobation. We heartily recommend to persons afflicted with this irritability of conscience, to try the course, at once mild and invigorating, which may be prescribed by doctors such as Mr. Penrose. The time was (and may still be) when dyspeptic patients were generally given to understand that they could not do better than buy Mr. Abernethy's book. We offer similar advice to the invalids whose case we have been examining. Let them buy Mr. Penrose's book. They will find in him a *Ductor dubitantium* who will lead them into no snares or quakeries; a servant of the truth, who, we doubt not, would rather go to the stake than betray her substantial interests; but who would think her cause dishonoured by a peevish contest about the mere shreds and fragments of her garment.

And what, we would gladly learn, would be gained if this morbid fastidiousness were to become universal; if every hour and every minute, not demanded by the indispensable business of life, were to be dedicated to some pursuit or exercise specifically religious? One inevitable consequence would be, the introduction of religious *conversations*, which every soberminded Christian must agree with Mr. Penrose, in describing as "among the very worst things in the world." Such was the opinion of the sainted Bishop Taylor, who affirms, that the "talking much of the things of Scripture, hath ministered oft to vanity and divisions;" and who again, in language of still deeper condemnation, declares, that "of all things in the world, a prating religion, and much talk in holy things, does most profane the mysteriousness of it, and dismantles its regards, and makes it loose and garish like the laughers of drunkenness."* Besides, as Mr. Penrose remarks with irresistible truth, "it bewilders the ignorant, it seduces the fluent, substituting almost always some delusion of the imagination in the places of holiness and *sincerity*." He might have added, that it may often wofully discourage the humble, diffident, unostentatious Christian. It may send him away nearly in despair as to his own spiritual attainments, and sometimes in a state of afflicting doubt even as to the sincerity of his religious profession. Finding himself, after long and regular attendance at the spiritual coterie, unable to make his views and feelings producible in words, he begins to fear that, after all, the *root of the matter* may not be in him: and he may finally come to believe, that none can really have received the true unction, without having their lips

* Sermon 2. on Eph. iv. 29.

opened, and feeling themselves impelled to take their station "among the prophets." We conceive this to be among the most deplorable effects of a practice which cherishes a showy and loquacious piety. There are multitudes of persons whose soul is pervaded with the essence of religion,—who carry it about in their very temperament,—and who yet are utterly without the capacity of embodying it in the form of propositions, or even of giving it manifestation in a sustained and continuous act of devotion. They may, perhaps, be unable to speak half a dozen intelligible words on the subject to the ears of men, and yet, all this while, their souls may be in habitual and blissful discourse with the Father of Spirits. And these are the persons who are to be depressed, and embarrassed, and perhaps incurably dispirited, by the volubility of some great performer, who may have his memory in the finest possible training, while his heart may, perhaps, remain wholly undisciplined and untouched! Undoubtedly, that religious intercourse is the most profitable which brings us into *secret* communion with wise and friendly instructors, or into converse with the venerable and illustrious dead—not that which may call into competition the craving egotism and self-importance of the living.

We have heard it alleged, in defence of these colloquial exercises, that if a man be deeply and sincerely interested about heavenly things, he cannot but delight to talk of them;—a remark which, to our apprehension, betrays a very shallow insight into human nature. A man may delight to speak of his studies and pursuits; but we greatly doubt whether any one, whose character has solidity and substance in it, ever delights to speak much of his tenderest sentiments, or his deepest emotions, or his most solemn obligations,—except it be under the sacred privacy of confidential intercourse. Men will talk,—we most of us know to our cost,—by the hour together, of their dogs, and their horses, and their cattle, and their acres,—they will break out into unmerciful tediousness on the stratifications of the globe, or the mysterious embossment of the human cranium—they will prose interminably on the interior of Africa, till—(as we have somewhere read or heard it expressed)—we are tempted to wish that Africa had no interior!—all these atrocities we know men will commit, without remorse, even at their social and convivial meetings; but we have never heard of any set of virtuous or benevolent individuals formally assembling for the sake of discussions *de finibus bonorum et malorum*; much less, with a view to pour out into each other's ears the overflowings of their tenderness for their respective wives and children, of their fervid devotion to their friends, or of their measureless delight in the exercise of philan-

thropy and generosity. We believe that there is now a club of Political Economists, who, during the session of Parliament, meet on the first Monday in every month at the Freemason's Tavern, for the express purpose of investigating—(after dinner!)—the profoundest mysteries of *supply and demand*, though (as the landlord probably complains) with very limited *practical* illustration of that doctrine. But we suspect that the members even of that most awful, temperate, and deliberative symposium,—(although, to a man, excellent patriots, and ardently devoted to the good of their country)—would be struck with huge consternation, if certain of their brethren were to diverge from their favourite science, and were to start off into a disquisition upon the duties incumbent on all true-hearted Englishmen, or into passionate raptures on the glories of a pure and exalted patriotism. Now religion is a theme which is able to stir our spirits from their very depths, often with incomparably greater potency than any secular pursuit, or any earth-born passion. It speaks to our hopes and fears with more “miraculous organ” than any other power or agency which can address itself to the soul. And for this very reason it is, that men may frequently be averse from its introduction into conversation. From its very nature it is unfavourable to that easy unembarrassed frame of mind which is the very life of familiar companionship. They who love it most, will be found ready to meditate upon it,—to hear of it in the sacred assemblies of the faithful,—to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest it,—but they will not always, or frequently, be found ready to talk about it. The tone of conversation cannot, long together, be kept up to the overpowering solemnity of the subject. And if the attempt be persisted in, the probability is, that the whole affair is converted into a formal religious exercise or *prophesying*; or else that it degenerates into that pernicious snare and pit-fall, a mutual communication of religious experiences, for the edification of the whole assembled company.

Very nearly allied to religious *conversations* are what are usually termed prayer-meetings, or assemblages of Christians, for the purpose of mutual exhortation, or the discussion of difficult and controverted points of faith, always commencing and terminating with prayer. We shall introduce here Mr. Penrose's exposition of the manifold abuses to which such institutions are liable, and of the mischiefs which they are almost sure to engender. It will be perceived that he fortifies his opinion with potent authority,—the authority of Bishop Heber,—and the authority (for this purpose still more irresistible) of the Rev. Thomas Scott, who delivers the result of his own experience, and whose testimony is beyond the reach of all exception,—since nothing, pro-

bably, but experience could have extorted from him a decision so utterly fatal to the practice in question.

“ That such assemblages are so very capable of being abused, that it is the part of wisdom narrowly to circumscribe them, is confessed by many whose natural character of mind would rather have led to advocate and applaud them. The same desire of display, which, even in the time of the apostles, led some into the absurdity of seeking to dazzle a congregation by exhibiting their power of speaking in unknown tongues, now leads others to a display, scarcely less unmeaning, of their own eloquence and fluency. Many, of whom the first impulse is to do honour to God, are soon misled unsuspectingly to put in His place some creature of party, or of imagination, some barren dogma which may be the watchword of their creed, or even some contemptuousness of those great lessons of practical holiness which are the essential doctrine of Christianity itself.

“ That all this is really the fact, (and indeed it is a fact which would be expected by all who know sufficiently how great is the infirmity of the human heart,) experience and authority unite to testify. It is a fact also which shows clearly the extreme aptitude of men to deceive themselves, in a case in which their deception puts on the pretext of religion, or assumes the form, without the power, of godliness. It is certain also that the error, which we in all such cases commonly see, is in fact the self-deception which I have described, and not by any means rank hypocrisy.

“ ‘ When I was curate of Olney,’ says the late excellent Mr. Scott, and this in a private letter addressed to a clergyman, ‘ I, as it were, inherited a prayer-meeting, conducted on the same plan, but not so wild and extravagant as the prayer-meetings in your parish are; but I soon found it needful or advisable to withdraw, and to leave the persons who conducted it to themselves; neither opposing nor countenancing it. Most of them became Dissenters, some dissenting ministers. . . . In general, I am apt to think, it may be difficult for a minister in the Establishment to form or conduct prayer-meetings, in such a manner as that the aggregate good shall not be counterbalanced, or even overbalanced, by positive evil . . . The evils which arose from those at Olney induced such an association of ideas in my mind, as probably never can be dissolved. Two or three effects were undeniable. I. They proved *hotbeds*, on which superficial and discreditable preachers were hastily raised up; who, going forth on the Lord’s day to the neighbouring parishes, intercepted those who used to attend Mr. Newton. II. Men were called to pray in public, whose conduct afterwards brought a deep disgrace on the Gospel. III. They produced a captious, criticising, self-wise spirit, so that even Mr. Newton himself could seldom please them. These things had no small effect in leading him to leave Olney. IV. They rendered the people so contemptuously indifferent to the worship of God at the church, and indeed many of them to any public worship in which they did not take a part, that I never before, or since, witnessed any thing like it: and this was *one* of my secret reasons for leaving Olney. . . .

. . . “ ‘ But “ good is done.” God may do good notwithstanding: but are we to *do evil that good may come*? Does he need our misconduct to accomplish his purposes? Shall we break his laws to promote his Gospel? *Good* is done, but is not *mischief* also done? The mischief is the direct consequence: the good by occasion at most. Such men, Mr. Cecil used to say, have but one side in their account-book: they set down their gains, but not their losses: and these being greater than their gains, they become bankrupt. The prejudice excited among those without, and the various ways in which, by such practices, the success and spread of the Gospel are hindered, (besides the mischief done to the persons concerned,) warrant the assertion, that they are most grievous evils; *bad bills* indorsed sometimes by good men.’

“ The good sense of all this is so admirable, and the conclusion so certain, that we need not look for any further testimony to the existence, or magnitude, of the dangers to which such assemblages as those here spoken of are always necessarily liable. Yet I cannot forbear adding, that the opinion of the lamented Heber, as expressed with his own peculiar mildness of sentiment in one of the most valuable of the precious memorials remaining of him, sanctions and corresponds entirely with what has been said. ‘ The effect,’ concludes this most amiable prelate, ‘ is not only often confusion, but, what is worse than confusion, self-conceit and rivalry, each labouring to excel his brother in the choice of his expressions, and the outward earnestness of his address; and the bad effects of emulation mixing with actions, in which, of all others, humility and forgetfulness of self are necessary. Such too is that warmth of feeling and language derived rather from imitation than conviction, which, under the circumstances which I have mentioned, are apt to degenerate into enthusiastic excitement or irreverent familiarity.’ ” —p. 159—164.

To these authorities we cannot forbear adding the following important one, which Mr. Penrose has introduced in an interesting note at the end of his volume. Speaking with reference to the above quotation, Mr. Penrose subjoins as follows:—

“ Mr. Scott, it is to be remarked, makes the following reserve. ‘ But men,’ he says, ‘ of far greater capacity and means of judging have thought otherwise; among whom I especially look up to Mr. Walker of Truro, whose regulations I thought very judicious.’

“ This reference to Mr. Walker makes it proper, I think, for me here to subjoin, that I have the best authority for saying that this excellent man, in a ripened experience, and towards the end of his life, would have agreed entirely on this subject with Mr. Scott.

“ Mr. Walker, who was born in 1714, became curate of Truro in 1746. My paternal grandfather, a man of learning and abilities, one year older than Mr. Walker, with whom he had been at school at Exeter, and afterwards of the same college in Oxford, was then vicar of St. Gluvias, a parish nine miles distant from Truro. He was one of the seven original members of a club formed, at Mr. Walker’s suggestion, among the neighboring clergy, and kept up a close personal intimacy with him

till the year 1760, when Mr. Walker, then in the early stage of a consumption, left Truro, which he never revisited, for Bristol. ‘My dear friend,’ were Mr. Walker’s last words, at the time when they bade each other farewell, ‘whatever good you intend to do, you must do it in the Church.’

“That Mr. Walker had ample grounds for the disapproval, which these words implied, of that sort of religious meeting which he had previously been led to encourage, my grandfather himself had very sufficient reason to know. I have heard also from old people, who were well acquainted with Truro, traditional accounts of the rise and progress, and of the effects, of the prayer-meetings which were there instituted by Mr. Walker. Of these accounts Mr. Scott’s relation of the effects produced by the Meetings at Olney is little else than a literal repetition.”—pp. 179—181.

We cannot dismiss this work without adverting to a very just and very important observation of the author, which ought, perhaps, in due regularity, to have been noticed before. Having produced from Bishop Taylor the remark, that “a man may prudently hold an opinion, which he cannot defend against a *witty* adversary,” Mr. Penrose adds, that “this may be equally true, though *the wit be his own*.” We regard this as a very interesting and very valuable apophthegm. There are, probably, many estimable persons whose *wit* is constantly playing the *devil’s advocate* against their *sincerity*: and a sufficient defence against the impeachment of this adversary may generally be found in the words, “get thee behind me, Satan.” A man, who has conscientiously devoted his faculties to the investigation of truth, may fairly repose upon the territory he has won, without being expected to “fight his battles o’er again,” at the challenge of every “puny whipster.” Still less is it to be endured that the pages and lacqueys of his own intellectual household—the “fickle pensioners” of his own brain—should dare to whisper doubts of the fairness of his acquisition, and bid him retire from his rightful conquest. If this were to be the case, no man could be secure for a moment even on the ground of the exactest science. He may have traced the most intricate labyrinths of geometry or analysis till it brought him out to the firm ground, and broad daylight, of an indisputable conclusion: but what would be his condition if he were liable to be called upon, at any subsequent moment, to verify his position, by tracing out, step by step, that process of demonstration by which he had reached it? When Newton had undergone the toil of invention or discovery, he consigned the results to his immortal volumes, and spared himself the labour of an incessant revision of his proofs. He might, consequently, be often unprepared to relieve, without fatigue and annoyance, the difficulties of other inquirers, who were toiling up the steep of his investigations:

may, it is probable that there may have been immeasurably inferior minds, who were habitually more conversant with the steps and the *details* of his stupendous geometry than the mighty author himself. It is related of that celebrated, and almost *unfathomable* analyst, Professor Waring, that when he was desirous of recovering the process of one of his own theorems, he was often under the necessity of locking himself up for a week together, before he could accomplish it. Now, in either of these cases, it would be positive stupidity, to contend that the confidence of these eminent men in their own conclusions was ever for a moment suspended. The temporary oblivion of the exact road from the premises to the inference, can imply no interruption to the *sincerity* of our persuasion that we are standing on sure ground. The case is very similar to this, in moral science, where strict demonstration may not be attainable. It is not given to man to have the whole chart of his intellectual navigation constantly and distinctly present to his mind's eye. Neither is it given to man to enjoy the perpetual sunshine of unclouded truth. The orb may sometimes be dim with mists, and sometimes hidden by clouds; and his light may sometimes be pale with eclipse; but no one is tempted to believe, even in the most cheerless season, that its splendours have been quenched, or that the luminary himself has perished from the face of heaven. Minds of the most exalted power and integrity are not exempt from these discouraging vicissitudes. It is the lot of our common mortality. Baxter himself—one of Mr. Penrose's favourite worthies—scruples not to confess that he experienced such fluctuations. The following are his own words:—

“ Though my habitual judgment and resolution, and scope of life, be still the same, yet I find a great mutability as to actual apprehensions, and degrees of grace; and consequently find that so mutable a thing as the mind of man would never keep itself, if God were not its keeper. When I have been seriously musing upon the reasons of Christianity, with the concurrent evidences methodically placed, in their just advantages, before my eyes, I am so clear in my belief in the Christian verities, that Satan hath little room for temptation. But sometimes, when he hath, on a sudden, set some temptation before me, *when the aforesaid evidences have been out of the way, or less upon my thoughts*, he hath by such surprises amazed me, and weakened my faith in the present act. So also, as to the love of God, and trusting in him, sometimes, *when the motives are clearly apprehended*, the duty is more easy and delightful; and, at other times, I am merely passive and dull, if not guilty of actual despondency and distrust.”*

Again:

“ In my younger days I never was tempted to doubt of the truth of Scripture or Christianity; but all my doubts and fears were exercised at

* Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biogr.* vol. v. pp. 568, 569.

home, about my own sincerity and interest in Christ; and this was it which I called *unbelief*. Since then, my sorest assaults have been on the other side; and such they were, that—had I been void of internal experience, and the adhesion of love, and the special help of God, and had not discerned more reason for my religion than I did when I was younger—I *had certainly apostatized to Infidelity* (though, for Atheism or Ungodliness, my reason seeth no stronger arguments than may be brought to prove that there is no earth, air, or sun)." . . . And he afterwards adds. . . . "For my part I must profess, that when my belief of things eternal and the Scripture is most full and firm, all goeth accordingly in my soul; and all temptations to sinful compliances, worldliness, or flesh-pleasing, do signify worse to me than an invitation to the stocks or Bedlam. And no petition seemeth more necessary to me than—*Lord, increase our faith; Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.*"*"

Instances like these are abundantly sufficient to show that occasional infirmities of faith, or transient obscurities of conviction, though they may disorder our peace, are not, of necessity, destructive of our sincerity. If such men as Baxter are constrained to confess that their grasp of the truth was not always equally masterful, nay, that, sometimes, it was almost fatally relaxed, how shall ordinary men hope to escape this sore temptation? And why should they imagine that there is no solid substance in their convictions, because they cannot, at an instant's notice, produce the evidences and the arguments on which they rest? Above all, why should they suffer their own perverse ingenuity to stand in the way for an adversary against them? If a man's *wit* is busy in disturbing his belief, or in impeaching his sincerity, let him remember that the *wit* of such men as Bacon, and Grotius, and Baxter, was, at least, as active and subtle as his own. He will be paying a most outrageously extravagant compliment to his sagacity, if he imagines that any difficulty can present itself to his mind, which has not been long ago discerned and conquered by the mightiest masters of thinking; and he may reasonably console and confirm himself with the reflection, that—though he may not be always in a condition to defend his own faith against his own cunning—Wisdom, has, nevertheless, been often justified by her children, under far heavier jeopardy than his powers, either of wit or folly, can ever bring upon her. He may further recollect that, throughout this life, all our powers and faculties are in a course of probation—that, in this *fiery trial*, difficulty and danger can be no *strange things*—that if pure and unclouded certainty were the only element in which sincerity could breathe, in this world she would scarcely survive an hour—that the grand thing is to subdue the evil *heart* of unbelief—and that, if this be accomplished, the

* Wordsworth's *Ecel. Biogr.* vol. v. pp. 587, 588.

Father of Mercy will surely not *be extreme to mark* the occasional failures and aberrations of the understanding.

One word more, and we have done. We perceive that Mr. Penrose,* in the plenitude of his *sincerity*, has thought it advisable to make a formal surrender of certain texts or readings of Scripture, as corrupt and spurious; and, among them, the present reading of ΘΕΟΣ in 1 Tim. iii. 16, which, he tells us, the best critics have considered as an evident interpolation. Now, before our readers acquiesce in the abandonment of this reading, we would recommend them to consult Professor Burton's "*Testimonies of the Ante-nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ.*" The references in that work to the text in question, will conduct them to some considerations, which will, probably, make them pause, before they consent to give up this remarkable testimony to the Divinity of the Saviour. We are quite prepared to agree with Mr. Penrose, that the surrender of evident corruptions or interpolations is perfectly consistent with a sincere belief in the inspired volume generally. But Christian Sincerity never can require of us to aid in fixing the mark of reprobation upon any portion of that volume, until its spuriousness has been established beyond all reasonable doubt. And we apprehend that much remains to be done before we can be called upon to agree to the final condemnation of the received reading in the first Epistle to Timothy.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of his own Life and Times.* By Sir James Turner. 1632—1670. From the original Manuscript. Edin. 1829.

BESIDES the interest which attaches to this work as a source of information in regard to a very important epoch of British history, it possesses an incidental value as the autobiography of a person whose character and exploits are generally understood to have supplied the outlines of that amusing picture of a mercenary soldier, which appeared in the Legend of Montrose under the name of Sir Dugald Dalgetty. In some points the resemblance between Sir James Turner and the imaginary hero just named is very striking. They were both warriors by profession; and in their choice of a side whereon to display their courage and fidelity, they were determined by a variety of circumstances altogether unconnected with the merits of the cause which they bound themselves to support. Both of them too, after a good deal of hard service in the army of Gustavus, the lion of the North, returned to their native land, and took a share in those troubles which,

* Page 78.

about the middle of the seventeenth century, distracted the whole kingdom, brought the sovereign to the scaffold, and shook to their very basis the pillars of the constitution in church and state.

So far the author of the work now before us may be likened to the marauding captain described by the author of *Waverley*; and there can be little doubt that a perusal of Sir James's manuscript, which has been but recently reduced to types, suggested the idea of the admirable character which adorns the fictitious narrative already mentioned. In the minuter lineaments of the painting, indeed, the resemblance cannot be traced. Turner, in his taste, his acquirements, and intellectual habits, belonged to a higher order of men than Ritt-master Dalgetty. In his earliest youth he showed a love of letters, which no change of pursuits could turn aside, and which the severest hardships did not extinguish. Although the most active part of his life was spent amidst the noise of arms, he left a greater number of literary works than are usually found in the study of professed scholars, whose days and nights have been devoted to the Muses. He wrote an able Essay, entitled "*Pallas Armata*," the object of which was to explain the principles of the art of war; and he published a Treatise on Politics, in answer to Buchanan's famous Dialogue, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*." In these respects, therefore, it is very obvious that the crafty, selfish, talkative, voracious horseman who enlisted with the Marquis of Montrose, ought not to be held as the counterpart of a commander who displayed so many accomplishments, and whose chief delight arose from the cultivation of literature, more especially of history, poetry, and eloquence.*

Turner may, notwithstanding, be received as a well-characterised specimen of that class of warriors who, about two hundred years ago, migrated from various parts of Britain to seek employment and adventure in the armies of foreign states. The support of the Protestant cause in the northern nations of Europe, afforded an inducement or a pretext to the ardent spirits of that age, who, tired of the peace which England enjoyed under the unambitious government of James the First and of his son, longed to witness a more stirring scene, and even to engage their services in the animating labours of a campaign. Several regiments, English as well as Scottish, fought under the banners of the King of Sweden, and earned a high reputation in the camp of that gallant prince. Among other officers who shared the toils of the memorable war

* In the catalogue of his manuscripts are the following Treatises—on the Duties of Sovereigns and Subjects; Supreme Power; Monarchy, &c.; Orators and Preachers; the Jew's Cabala, &c.; a Defence of some Ceremonies of the English Liturgy, bowing at the Name of Jesus, &c.; two heroic Epistles, supposed to have been written by Mahomet the Great and Irene the fair Greek; Francisco Petrarcha; Edward the Third, King of England; Philip the Second; Lucretia Romana; Julius Scaliger; Cardinal Mazarine; Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, &c.

in which Gustavus commanded against the Imperialists, we find the name of the brave Sir Arthur Ashton, who was afterwards, with nearly three thousand regular troops, massacred by Cromwell at the reduction of Drogheda in Ireland. The ablest leaders, indeed, of which this country could boast at that eventful period, gained their professional knowledge and experience under the tuition of foreign generals; a fact which accounts, in some measure, for the slight reluctance shown by the most of them to have recourse to free quarters at home, and, in other respects, to treat their countrymen according to the maxims adopted by hired troops when stationed in a hostile territory.

Influenced by the authority here alluded to, Sir James Turner practised considerable severities upon the Scottish Covenanters, whom he hated not less for their disloyal principles than for their gloomy religion. Attached to the church and to the monarchy, he was not disposed to exercise an unlimited toleration towards those fanatical reformers who laboured to reduce every thing to a new model. Hence, when he was employed by the government of Scotland to quell the insurrection which disturbed the western counties, he felt no remorse in following out the oppressive system of fines, assessment, and even of personal restraint which he was commanded to pursue. His name, accordingly, appears in all the contemporary annals of that period as that of an infidel and persecutor, an enemy of God's people, and the instrument of a tyrannical faction who trampled upon the rights and assailed the consciences of the most deserving portion of their fellow subjects.

The greatest value, therefore, of such a work as the present, consists in the means which it supplies of correcting historical declamation by an appeal to facts. Turner not only records the main transactions of his life, but gives his authority for the conduct which he pursued, and attempts, at least, a vindication of the most questionable of his proceedings. In this way we have before us at once the charge and the defence; and hence, by making a little allowance for exaggeration on both sides, we may hope to arrive at a clear view of the truth, on a subject which has been all along obscured by a cloud of religious, political, and even of national prejudices. In the Introduction to one of his works the author informs us that he—

“ Began to write these papers in the year of God, 1643, in Ireland, but made no great progresse in them, being otherwayes employed there and afterwards in Scotland and England: bot fyve years after that being prisoner in Hull, from September, 1648, till November, 1649, I had leisure and opportunities enough to write; and such was the civillitie of Colonell Overtown, then governour of that towne, that he permitted the stationers to furnish me with any books I called for, the perusial whereof I had at an easy rate per week; nor did he hinder me to write

anie thing my fancie led me to; and when I had gott my libertie, mostly procured by him, he suffered not anie of my papers to be searched, though in several of them I had writ my opinions very freely of the King's murther, and that of James, Duke of Hamilton, and of the change of monarchy in the pretended commonwealth. But my papers were all taken and destroyed by the Cromwellians in the year 1651, when Dundee was taken, sacked, and plundered by General Monck, who lived to doe more acceptable service to God, and his prince, and all the three kingdoms. Four years after that, in 1655, I found myself in good enough leisure in Bremen, a towne in Germany, to resume my former labour. All these papers lay by me almost in loose sheets till the year 1669, a year after I laid down my commissions, and then I had leisure more than enough to write them over *in mundo*; and indeed they have lyen ever since in parcels by me till in this year 1679, I was moved by a very accidental emergencie, to cause bind them together in one book as you now see them."

After having passed through the course of literature and philosophy which is usually taught at the Scottish Universities, he commenced Master of Arts at Glasgow; an honour of which he appears not to have been very ambitious, and which, he adds, was undeservedly bestowed upon him as it had been on many before him, and hath been on too many since. His time was next devoted to the study of religion, or rather to those points of doctrine and usage in which the Protestants differ from the Roman Catholics; for as yet, he remarks, Presbyterianism made little or no noise in Scotland.

But before he attained his eighteenth year he was smitten with a strong desire to be a spectator, if he could not be an actor, in those wars which were carried on by Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, against the Emperour and the Catholic League in Germany. With this view he obtained a commission in a regiment levied by Sir James Lumsdain; and, in the year 1632 landed at Rostock, in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, whence, with a body of Scottish recruits, he proceeded in order to join the grand army under the immediate command of his Swedish Majesty. As, however, the battle of Lutzen took place before this march was completed, Turner never saw the hero of the North. The Protestant confederates next placed themselves under the direction of the Duke of Brunswick, who received into his camp two British regiments, the one commanded by the unfortunate Ashton, already mentioned, and the other by Lumsdain, the patron of our author.

With this army Turner learned the rudiments of war, in cold, nakedness, and hunger. A sanguinary battle ensued, in which although victory declared in favour of the Swedes, the loss was great on both sides; and, as if such a scene had not been enough to "flesh

such novices," he was compelled to witness the slaughter of numbers in cold blood, who fell victims to the rage of the Finns, who never gave quarter. During a long siege his best entertainment was bread and water; abundance of the last, but not so of the first. The following winter passed under similar privations, "exceeding great want of both meat and clothes, being necessitated to be in the fields with little or no shelter, to march always on foot and drink water," so that he could then verify what he had often heard at school, *dulce bellum inexpertis*. But war, harsh as its features usually present themselves, sometimes puts on a smile, and, accordingly, we find that the sufferings of one period were not unfrequently compensated by the enjoyments of another.

"In the beginning of the year 1634, our English and Scottish regiments, such as they were, came to be quartered at that Oldendorpe near to which the battell was fought. I was lodged in a widow's house, whose daughter, a young widow, had been married to a ritt-master of the Emperor's. She was very handsome, wittie, and discreet; of her, though my former toyle might have banished all love thoughts out of my mind, I became perfittie enamoured. Heere we stayed six weeks, in which time she taught me Hie Dutch, to reade and write it, which before I could not learne but very rudlie from sojors. Having then the countrie language I learned also the customes and fashions of the German officers; and about this time was both regiments reduced to two companies, two captain-lieutenants and two ensigns, (whereof I was one) onlie ordained to stand; all the rest cashiered and in great necessitie and povertie. The two companies were but badlie used, tossed to and fro in constant danger of an enemie, and without pay. But I had learned so much cunning, and became so vigilant to lay hold on opportunities, that I wanted for nothing, horses, clothes, meale, nor money; and made so good use of what I had learned, that the whole time I served in Germany I suffered no such miserie as I had done the first year and a halfe that I came to it."

But it is not our intention to follow Sir James through the perilous events which marked the conclusion of the thirty years war. The storming of towns, burning of villages, and plundering of the miserable inhabitants, were occurrences of so ordinary a nature that they had almost ceased to attract any attention. "A mournful sight it was," says the Scottish subaltern on one occasion, "to see the whole people of three fair towns burnt to the ground, following us, and climbing the high rocks on either side."

"Old and young left their houses, by the loss of them and their goods, to save their lives. Aged men and women, many above fourscore, most lame or blind, supported by their sons, daughters, and grandchildren, who themselves carried their little ones on their backs, was a rothful object of pitie to any tender-hearted christian, and did show us with what countenance that bloodie monster of war can appear to the world."

Certain causes of complaint in the year 1640 carried Turner to Stockholm, where he found the celebrated Christina, then about fourteen years of age, applying herself much to learn foreign languages and to the study of the sciences. The affairs of Sweden were at that period conducted by Oxenstern, who, under the title of Director of the Evangelical League, had managed the war against Austria after the death of Gustavus. The sagacity of the Caledonian enabled him to discover that the politics of the Regency were hostile to Charles the First and favourable to the Long Parliament, which had already commenced its sittings. The Administrators encouraged all Scotsmen to go home and join General Lesley, who had already crossed the Tweed, at the head of a large army, with the view of imposing terms upon the King. It is indeed a remarkable fact, that the government of Sweden, as well as that of Cardinal Richlieu at Paris, had previously begun to negotiate with the Covenanters in Scotland, to alarm their zeal, and to represent to them the danger which menaced their religion, as arising from the arbitrary counsels of the English cabinet. Viewed on the grounds of probability and of interest, no coalition assuredly was less to be dreaded by Charles than one between the bigoted churchman who presided over the policy of France, and the fanatical peasants in Ayrshire and Galloway, who shuddered at the very name of popery, and regarded all hierarchical distinctions as marks of the beast which they had sworn to destroy. Nothing, however, in the history of that distracted period is more true than that the civil war in England was partly kindled by firebrands conveyed from Stockholm on the one hand, and from Paris on the other; from the fortress of protestantism in the north, and from the citadel of popish superstition in the south.

Turner, finding that no compensation could be obtained in the Swedish capital, resolved to sail for Britain, with the view of securing an appointment in one of the two armies about to take the field; indifferent in a great degree whether he should draw the sword in favour of his Majesty or in support of the Parliament. At this epoch, his principles were not influenced by higher motives than those which usually determined the conduct of Sir Dugald Dalgetty. In the neighbourhood of Gottenburgh he found two ships ready to sail, the one for Hull, the other for Leith. He at first preferred the former; and had he taken his passage in it, he would have offered his services to Charles against the Covenanters; but the skipper would not wait a single hour to accommodate him with a place for his baggage and a servant, on which account he embarked on board the other vessel, landed at Edinburgh, and finally accepted of a commission in the army against which he had the greater inclination to fight. He

admits that in Germany he had "swallowed, without chewing, a very dangerous maxim, which military men there too much follow; which was, that if they served their master honestly, it was no matter which master they served."

When he arrived in Scotland, he found that the Presbyterian forces, led by General Lesley, had already advanced to Newcastle, after defeating, or rather dispersing the troops opposed to them, under the command of Lord Conway, in the shameful encounter at Newburn. The Scots remained about ten months in Northumberland and Durham, during which time Turner discharged the duties of major in Lord Kirkcudbright's regiment. "All this while," says he, "I did not take the national covenant, not because I refused to do it, for I would have made no bones to take, swear, and sign it, and observe it too; for I had then a principle, not having yet studied a better one, that I wronged not my conscience in doing anything I was commanded to do by those whom I served. But the truth is, it was never offered to me; every one thinking it was impossible I could get into any charge, unless I had taken the covenant either in Scotland or England."

The policy adopted by Charles the First, with the view of recovering the affections of his northern subjects, was, as every historian has remarked, the immediate cause of his ruin. He yielded everything to men who had neither gratitude nor honour. Imagining that his personal presence would soothe their turbulent and suspicious humours, he repaired to Edinburgh, where he found that the parliament had assembled of their own accord, determined to insist on every previous demand, and to make no concession on any point, whether of ecclesiastical or civil government. The King allowed them to dispose of all offices of state, as well as of his forts, castles, and militia. But not satisfied with this, they demanded that he should sanction an act justifying all that they had done while in arms against him; spurning with contempt a mere act of oblivion, as implying that their conduct had not been perfectly loyal and patriotic. They next extorted his assent to the abolition of Episcopacy, and to the establishment by law of the Presbyterian model, which they knew well he regarded with a mingled feeling of dislike and of disapprobation. In this instance Charles afforded a striking proof of the remark, that "it was his constant fate and practice to empower his enemies to do him more and more mischief." It was, indeed, the boast of some one who wanted either sense or principle to view things in their proper light, that while in Scotland, he might be esteemed a "contented king among a contented people." The reverse of this representation would have been nearer the truth; for his Majesty, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, had

given up much more than was either wise or safe, while the Covenanters, aware of this fact, dreaded that he would embrace the first opportunity to recover a part at least of the just prerogative which he had been induced to sacrifice. Even in the eyes of Major Turner, who vaunted not of very refined principles or delicate feelings, the conduct of the Covenanters appeared dishonest and selfish in the extreme. The blunt soldier was astonished that the King did not see their wickedness, especially when they wounded his honour, by making the people believe that he intended either to put the Marquisses of Hamilton and Argyle aboard one of his ships, and send them prisoners to England, or to assassinate them in his palace of Holyrood House; "which horrible calumnies these two lords seconded by their counterfeit flight out of Edinburgh to Kinneil."

The rebellion in Ireland succeeded almost immediately this unfortunate appeal to arms made by Charles in the North. Ten thousand Scots, under Lesley and Munro, were transported into that country to assist the English army, commanded by the Lords Conway and Chichester, in suppressing or punishing the followers of O'Neale. Turner again found employment, as major in Lord Sinclair's regiment, and witnessed some very disagreeable service against the poor insurgents, who in many instances were brought into the field without arms or discipline. The invaders were wont to shoot their prisoners; "a practice," says the prototype of Dalgetty, "too much used by both English and Scots all along in that warre; a thing inhumane and disavouable, for the cruelties of one enemie cannot excuse the inhumanitie of ane other."

Every reader of Irish history is acquainted with the dispute which has prevailed relative to the commission claimed by Sir Phelim O'Neale, who pretended to fight in the name of the King against the royal armies. The testimony of Turner on this point is of great value, both because he was a contemporary writer, and more especially because he recorded the fact which is decisive of the question, before the controversy had attracted the importance which it afterwards assumed.

"This gentleman," says he, "was not the plotter of this rebellion; that was done by men of soberer heads and deeper judgment; but he was the grand instrument, and appeared first in armes, most treacherously pretending his Majesties commission for what he did; whereof the rebels in Scotland and England made good use. He had counterfeited a warrand under the King's hand, and to the false parchment annexed his Majestie's great seale, which was hanging at his great charter, as he confessed afterwards to many persones of qualitie yet alive, and left it on record at his death; to which he was deservedlie put by hanging, and drawing, and quartering, at Dublin, by rebels as wicked as himselfe,

bot upon ane other account; for it was Cromwell's partie that executed him."

It was not till the year 1644 that Turner's loyalty began to resume its native strength, and to direct his resentment against the Covenanters, whose ultimate objects he had no longer any difficulty in discovering. The celebrated Montrose about that period was making preparations for his Scottish campaign, and had even advanced as far as Dumfries. There he met with some resistance, which compelled him to recross the border into Cumberland; an unfortunate occurrence for the royal cause, inasmuch as, had he proceeded to Stirling, he would, this author maintains, have found several regiments just returned from Ireland, ready to join him, under the banners of his Majesty. "Bot the inauspicious fate and disastrous destinie of the incomparable good King would not have it to be so."

Failing in this undertaking, our hero resolved to continue a little longer with his old masters, hoping that some occasion would soon present itself for turning his sword against them. He asserts, as an apology for this evasive conduct, that the Earl of Callander, who was actually employed in raising a levy for the Committee of Estates, meditated the same treachery; and declared, with the deepest oaths, even "wishing the supper of our Lord, which he was to take the following Sunday, to turn to his damnation, if ever he should again serve under the Covenanters. He gave besides all imaginable assurances that he would act for the King, and that the greater power he was invested with, the more vigorously and vigilantly would he show himself active and loyal for his Majesty." Encouraged by such an example, Turner marched with his regiment to place himself under the command of General Lesley, now Lord Leven, who was a second time engaged in the siege of Newcastle. At this crisis we are presented with an instance of military laxness, which would have startled the conscience even of Sir Dugald Dalgetty.

"Upon these grounds, my Lord Sinclair's regiment marched into England, and I with them, and made a fashion, (for indeed it was no better) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters; a thing (though too much practised in a corrupt world) yet in itself dishonest, sinfull and disavoueable; for it is certain that no evill could be done that good may come of it; neither did any good come at all of this, for Calandar all along proved true to his own interest and gaine, and false to the king's, never laying hold on any opportunity whereby he might, with small difficultie, have done his Majesty signal service. After he entered England, I would have undertaken to have made most of his new levied forces, which were about 5000, declare for the King, and forced those who would not, to fly from the armie."

Turner was with the Scottish army when the King sought refuge in their camp before Newark. He blames his countrymen, and particularly the Earl of Lothian, who was President of the Committee of Estates, for the harsh treatment which they inflicted upon his Majesty, whom they compelled, says Sir James, before he was allowed to eat, drink, or take the slightest repose, to send an order to Lord Bellasis to deliver up the place to the parliamentary forces. He was further importuned by the same nobleman to sign the Covenant, to sanction the establishment of the Presbyterian polity in England and Ireland, and to command James Graham—for so he called Montrose—to lay down his arms. These concessions Charles resolutely refused to grant, reminding Lothian, at the same time, that he who made him an earl had made James Graham a marquess. In consequence of this firmness, the sovereign was used “verie barbarouslie;” strong guards were put upon him, and sentinels placed at all his windows that he should not cast over any letters; and at length he was carried with more speed than dignity to Newcastle, where the restraint on his person was rather increased than diminished.

“At Sherburne I spoke with him, and his Majestic having got some good character of me, bade me tell him the sense of our armie concerning him. I did so, and withall assured him he was a prisoner, and therefor prayed him to think of his escape, offering him all the service I could do him. He seemed to be well pleased with my freedome and the grieve I had for his condition; but our conversation was interrupted very un-civilly (for I was in the room alone with his Majestic) by Lieutenant-General Lesley’s command, wherein he made use of two, whom I will not name, because the one is dead, and the other I hope hath repented.”

After a variety of events, the detail of which will not admit of abridgment, the author of these Memoirs found himself adjutant-general to the army under David Lesley, who, in the spring of the year 1647, was sent into the West Highlands to repress the adherents of Montrose. This campaign would be altogether undeserving of the readers’ notice, were it not for an act of cruelty by which it was disgraced, perpetrated, it is said, at the instance of a Presbyterian chaplain. The barbarities committed under the auspices of that order of men could not be believed in these more tranquil and civilized times, did we not know from records still more distressing, the extent to which bigotry, combined with political hatred, can root out of the human mind every feeling of compassion and remorse. Sir Alaster Macdonald, in his retreat towards his native isle, had placed three hundred brave men in a house, situated on the top of a hill, called Dunavertie, which being totally unprovided with water, soon fell into the hands of the Covenanters. The small garrison could

obtain no other terms than that they should surrender on the "kingdom's mercie."

"At length," says Turner, "they did so; and after they were carried out of the castle, they were put to the sword everie mother's sonne, except one young man, Mackoul, whose life I begged, to be sent to France with a hundred country fellows whom we had smoaked out of a cave as they doe foxes, who were given to Captain Cambell, the Chancellor's brother.

"Heere it will be fit to make a stop till this cruel action be canvassel. First, the lieutenant-general was two days irresolute what to doe. The Marques of Argill was accused, at his arraignment, of the murther, and I was examined as a witness. I deponed that which was true that I never heard him advise the lieutenant-general to it. What he did in private I knew not. Secondlie, Argill was but a colonell there, and so had no power to do it of himselfe. Thirdly, though he had advised him to it, it was no capitall crime, for counsel is no command. Fourthlie, I have several times spoke to the lieutenant-general to save these men's lives, and he always assented to it; and I knowe of himselfe he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthlie, Mr. John Nave (it is usually written Nevoy), who was appointed by the commission of the Kirk to wait on him as his chaplain, never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed; yea, and threatened him with the curses which befell Saul for sparing the Amalekites, for with them his theologie taught him to compare the Dunavertie men."

The ferocity of the ministers during that unhappy age has left a deep stain on the character of the Northern Covenanters. At a later period, indeed, they were themselves treated with very little mercy; but down to the epoch at which this narrative has arrived, they had had, upon the whole, the upper hand, and, therefore, had no severities to requite upon the royalists and Episcopalians. On this account, it is at once more difficult to apologize for their sanguinary disposition, and more easy to discover a pretext, at least, for the harsh measures to which the government had recourse, when it was thought expedient to suppress conventicles and field preachings. The main spring of the fierce, gloomy, and unrelenting humour which characterized the Presbyterian reformers of Scotland, from John Knox down to Richard Cameron, was the belief that certain precepts, peculiar to the ancient dispensation of the Jews, were to be held as a rule of life to Christians in all ages. The laws against idolatry, for example, which were enforced by the punishment of death, and the special command of God, to extirpate a tribe of polytheists, appeared to the divines of the Covenant a sufficient warrant for the most cold-blooded atrocities against believers in the Gospel, if they did not agree with them in every point of faith and of discipline. The laity, as it was to be expected, imbibed a great portion of the

illiberal and vindictive spirit which distinguished their pastors. Of this a remarkable instance was exhibited at the skirmish of Drumclog where the Covenanters repulsed the celebrated Claverhouse, afterwards Lord Dundee. Hamilton, who led the insurgents, issued orders that no quarter should be given to the royalists; but his people, less truculent than himself, saved the lives of four or five individuals, and even allowed them to escape. This greatly grieved Mr. Hamilton, we are told, "when he saw some of Babel's brats spared, after that the Lord had delivered them to his hands that they might dash them against the stones." In his own account of this, he reckons the sparing of these enemies and the letting them go, to be among their first steppings aside; for which he feared that the Lord would not honour them to do much more for him; and says, that he was neither for taking favours from, nor giving favours to, the Lord's enemies.—*Wilson's Relation.*

The same false theology, in short, which taught Nevoy, the chaplain of General Lesley, to identify three hundred Highlanders at Dunavertie with so many idolatrous Amalekites, led Hamilton at Drumclog to pronounce the soldiers of King Charles the Lord's enemies, and induced the fanatical ministers, after the defeat of Montrose, to demand the blood of the brave men who had fought under his banners. It will appear less surprising, therefore, when such officers as Sir James Turner, who knew their principles and had witnessed their atrocious cruelties, were employed against them at the head of regular troops, that severities were inflicted which ought never to be imposed upon a merely religious dissent. In fact, the tenets held at that period by the Presbyterians of Scotland and even of England, were incompatible with the authority of civil government. They maintained that the spiritual power of the Kirk was in all cases paramount to that of the State, inasmuch as the former represented the Majesty of the Redeemer, whereas the latter rested exclusively on human institution. Mixing up with such pretensions some confused notions of the Millennium or Second Advent, the ministers claimed for the expected King of all the earth the prerogatives of a throne which had been hitherto occupied by a succession of mortal princes. We are informed, accordingly, that, when the royalists in the North, in conjunction with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, projected an inroad with the view of saving Charles from the fate which was already prepared for him, "innumerable were the petitions that came from all places of the kingdom against the raising of forces for his Majesties releasment." The Presbyters in the West, all mighty members of the Kirk of Scotland, had preached the people to a perfect disobedience of all civil power,

except such as was authorized by the General Assembly; and so indeed, adds Turner, "were they all, who cried up King Christ and the kingdom of Jesus Christ, thereby meaning the uncontrollable and unlimited dominion of the then Kirk of Scotland, to whom they thought our Saviour had delegated over his sceptre to govern his militant Church as they thought fit."

It was therefore extremely difficult to keep terms with such persons, whose religion was essentially rebellion, and who, instead of finding in the Bible the rules of peace and sobriety, extracted from it an authority and even an encouragement for civil war. Turner used to punish them by making an attack on their purses; for "he shortly learned to know that the quartering two or three troopers and half-a-dozen musketeers, was an argument strong enough, in two or three nights' time, to make the hardest-headed Covenanter forsake the Kirk, and side with the parliament." But these fanatics were, in the end, too artful for Sir James and his horsemen; for soon afterwards—

"A pettie rebellion must be ushered in by religion, yea, by one of the sacredest mysteries of it, even the celebration of the Lords Supper; so finely could these pretended saints make that *vinculum pacis*, that bond of peace, the commemoration of our Saviour's sufferings and death, that peace so often inculcated and left as a legacie by our blessed Lord to his whole Church; so handsomely, I say, could these hypocrites make it the simbole of warre and bloody broyles. While I lay at Paislay, a communion, as they call it, is to be given at Machlan Church, to partake whereof all good people are permitted to come; but because the times were forsooth dangerous, it was thought fit all the men should come armed. Next Monday, which was their thanksgiving-day, there were few lesse to be seene about the church than two thousand armed men, horse and foot."

A skirmish ensued, in which a small body of the royal cavalry were repulsed, and two general officers wounded; but, upon being reinforced, they returned to the attack of the "slashing communicants," whom they finally drove off the ground. A few of the latter were killed, and sixty taken prisoners. The ministers, who had occasioned the mischief, were allowed to go to their several places of residence; the country people were pardoned; and only five of the leaders were condemned to suffer death. But even on them the sentence was not executed, so lenient was the government in the beginning of those civil commotions.

These Memoirs throw much light on an interesting portion of British History which has not heretofore derived any illustration from contemporary annals. We allude to the renewal of the civil war occasioned by the insurrection of the royalists under the

Duke of Hamilton, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, and which terminated in the Battle of Preston, where the confederates were defeated by Cromwell and Lambert. Our author maintains that Sir Marmaduke had not only unseasonably and contrary to the advice given to him, raised above three thousand foot and horse, but had marched with them into Lancashire, and thereby had given a just pretext to the parliament to send Lambert with a more considerable power, to put a stop to his further proceedings; and this the latter did so vigorously, that Langdale was obliged to take shelter under the walls of Carlisle. This premature movement blasted the success of the campaign. The Scots were not ready: their levies were only half completed; their supplies were not collected; their troops were still raw and undisciplined; and the best part of their army, which was serving in Ireland under Munro, had not yet crossed the Channel. To march to the relief of Sir Marmaduke at that early period was equivalent to leaving behind the better portion of their regiments; while to suffer him to perish was, as Turner expresses it, "against honour, conscience, and the reason both of state and warre." A detachment of Hamilton's foot and dragoons was accordingly pushed on towards the border; which at once compelled Lambert to concentrate his scattered parties, and encouraged the royalist general to extend his quarters; but the result was fatal to the cause of the King and to nearly all who had engaged in its support.

"My Lord Duke marcheth on with this ill-equipped and ill-ordered armie of his, in which I, being colonel of a regiment, officiated also as adjutant-general, or rather indeed doing the dutie of major-general of the infantrie, since there was none named for it. To relieve Langdale at Carlisle brought us out of the roade, and trulie we never came into the right way againe; so true is the old saying, once wrong and aye wrong. At Hornbie, a few days march beyond Kendall, it was advised whether we should march by Lancashire, Cheshire, and the western counties, or if we should go into Yorkshire, and so put ourselves in the straight roade to London, with a resolution to fight all who would oppose us. Calander was indifferent; Middleton was for Yorkshire; Bailie for Lancashire. When my opinion was asked, I was for Yorkshire, and for this reason onlie, that I understood Lancashire was a close country, full of ditches and hedges, which was a great advantage the English would have over our raw and undisciplined musketeers; the parliament's armie consisting of experienced and well-trained sojors and excellent firemen: on the other hand, Yorkshire being a more open country and full of heaths, where we both might make use of our horse and come sooner to push of pike. My Lord Duke was for Lancashire, and it seemed he had hopes that some forces would join him in his march that way. I have indeed heard him say that he thought Manchester his own, if he came near it. Whatever the matter was, I never saw him tenacious in any thing during the time of his command but in that. We choosed

to go that way which led us to our ruine. Our march was much retarded by most rainie and tempestuous weather, whereof I spake before, the elements fighting against us, and by staying for country horses to carry our little ammunition. The van guard is constantly given to Sir Marmaduke, upon condition that he should constantly furnish guides, pioneers for clearing the ways, and what was more than both these, to have good and certain intelligence of all the enemies' motions. But whether it was our fault or his neglect, want of intelligence helped to ruine us; for Sir Marmaduke was well nigh totally routed before we knew that it was Cromwell who attacked us: *Quos cūlt perdere hos de-mentat Jupiter.*"

It is, indeed, a singular fact, that Langdale, when he was attacked by Oliver Cromwell, imagined that he had to do with Colonel Ashton, a presbyterian gentleman in those parts, who had raised about three thousand men to oppose the Scots, because they had entered England without the permission of the General Assembly. Hence the battle was gained before it was known who had struck the blow. The Duke of Hamilton has been greatly blamed for his unsoldierlike conduct, in having his army extended along a line of march of not less than twenty miles, while an antagonist so active as Cromwell was advancing to meet him. But it is rendered manifest by the narrative now before us, that the royalists never possessed sufficient intelligence, either in regard to the motions of the enemy, or the military resources of the country through which they were passing. The latest historian of England asserts, indeed, that Sir Marmaduke, informed of the approach of the parliamentary general, sent notice to Hamilton that the main body of the republicans had made their appearance within a few miles of his position, and solicited support to enable him to keep his ground. Were this true, no degree of censure directed against the Duke would have been too great; for, besides that his troops were allowed to straggle over such an extent of country that they could not have been concentrated in less than twenty-four hours, he permitted Calander and Middleton, the very day before the fight, to go with most of the cavalry to Wigham, a distance of eight miles from his headquarters. Bishop Guthrie, in his *Memoirs*, maintains, that between the van and the rear of the Scottish army there was an interval of thirty-eight miles. Sir James Turner, on the contrary, alleges that the line of separation did not exceed sixteen miles: but were we to adopt the statement of Lingard, and proceed on the supposition that Hamilton was informed by Sir Marmaduke of the vicinity of Cromwell's battalions, we should be compelled to condemn the Duke as a traitor as well as a fool, and to believe that he exposed his army on purpose that it might be destroyed.

There is, however, no ground for this charge. The cavaliers perished of lack of knowledge; for Cromwell, who himself spared no expense to obtain intelligence, finding that his enemies were entirely destitute of it, threw his *Ironsides* upon their ranks before they had heard of his arrival, scattered their different corps as they came up, and gained a complete triumph with very little loss.

When Cromwell had defeated the Scots and cavaliers at Preston, the troops under Monro, who were at no time within fifteen miles of danger, marched back to their native country, and joined a body of newly-raised men under the Earl of Lanrick. The violent Presbyterians availed themselves of the same opportunity to oppress the royal cause; and marching from the fanatical districts in the west towards the capital, acquired for their expedition the distinction of the *Whigamore's Raid*; an epithet which, in different circumstances and with various modifications, has continued till the present day to mark a system of political opinions which are supposed to favour popular rights, in opposition to the claims of the privileged orders. Even old Lesley, who a short time before had received a coronet from the hand of Charles, cannonaded the royal troops from the castle of Edinburgh, when they appeared to approach its walls for protection. The King's friends themselves added further to the calamity, by submitting to a treaty, in the terms of which they were compelled to lay down their arms, and to resign all power in civil and military affairs. The principal persons of that class, it is true, the Earls of Lauderdale and Lanrick, and the Generals Monro, Dalzell, and Drummond, not thinking it safe to trust the saints so far, withdrew into Holland.

Cromwell meanwhile sends a strong body of cavalry under Lambert after the fugitives, and followed in person with the main strength of his army. Berwick and Carlisle were treacherously delivered into his hands, as also, in the former place, a number of English gentlemen who had served the King, and who were now exposed to the utmost severity of the republican government. When Oliver reached Edinburgh he was entertained by Lord Leven, whom Turner describes as "pears of one tree;" and he was, moreover, so much courted by some of the Covenanters, (whom Cromwell detested most cordially,) that if fame wronged them not, they then agreed in the expediency of taking away the life of the King. In return for this good cheer and confidence, the conqueror left Lambert with four regiments of horse to protect the fanatical democrats against the Malignants—for so were all honest men at that time called—till they could raise forces of

their own, to establish the ascendancy to which the course of events had gradually led them.

The fate of the Duke of Hamilton is well known to every one who has read the general history of those evil days; but as our opinion of the measures pursued by Parliament against him depends in a great degree on the terms of the treaty to which he acceded, the statement of Turner becomes highly interesting, from the circumstance that he was one of the persons employed by his Grace to adjust the conditions of their surrender. Being surrounded by some regiments of militia commanded by the governor of Stafford, the invaders discovered that they had no longer any alternative; for which reason the Duke named Sir James Foulis, Colonel Lockhart, and Sir James Turner, to meet the English officer.

“ We met with the governor and some of the principal gentry three miles from Utoxoter, at a very pleasant house in Staffordshire, where, as they had told us, Mary Queen of Scots had been long kept prisoner. This with superstitious people would have looked ominous for us who were of that nation. In our treaty we found them very civil and rational, and so much friends to monarchy, that we had reason to expect no bad conditions from them. But Fortune had not yet made peace with us. We were interrupted by a messenger sent by Lambert, to acquaint both them and us that he was come within two miles of the place, and that if we treat, it must be with him. These were no good news, yet we presently horsed and went to him. We found him very discreet, and his expressions civil enough. He appointed three principal officers to treat with us, of whom Lieutenant General Lilburne was one. Our first article was for the Duke, that he should be only a prisoner of war, nor should his life ever be questioned or in danger. He should keep his George, (the decoration of the Garter); six of his servants, such as he should choose, should be permitted to attend him, and six of his best horses likewise; that in his prison access of all persons to him should be allowed—conditions good enough, but very ill kept. The sum of the rest of the articles was this: that all of us, both officers and soldiers, should be prisoners of war, but civilly used till we could procure our liberty by exchange or ransom. We three who capitulated were ordered to be carried to Stafford. As we passed through Utoxoter we made a stand at the window of the Duke's chamber, and he looking out, we took our eternal farewell of him with sad hearts, parting from him we were never to see again. He spoke kindly to us, and so we left him to act the last and worst part of his tragedy.”

No character in history has been viewed through a more ambiguous light than that of James Duke of Hamilton, the relative and personal friend of Charles the First. That he was upon the whole faithful to his master cannot be doubted; but it is not less

certain, that his conduct on many occasions was as injurious to the royal cause as if he had acted the part of a traitor, and had even taken up arms against the interests which he professed to espouse. It was, indeed, the hard fate of that Sovereign to suffer more from his injudicious friends than from his most violent enemies, and to find himself oppressed by an accumulation of evils, arising from the best motives and the pursuit of the most justifiable objects. Could one believe in the influence of a fatal star, or in the existence of that adamant chain which binds all the issues of life to a fixed and inevitable destiny, it would become comparatively easy to account for those untoward events which precipitated Charles from the throne, defeated all the plans which were formed for his restoration, and finally reduced the most distinguished of his adherents to poverty and exile. Turner, in a fit of pious rumination, has recourse to the old maxim, that "Man proposes, and God disposes;" the truth of which he had again and again experienced in the late unhappy expedition. "What was intended," says he, "for the King's relief, posted him to his grave. His sad imprisonment," he adds, "called for assistance from all his loyal subjects, which as a duty the laws of God and man seemed to impose on them. Our hopes of success were great, grounded on the equity of our just undertaking, the prevailing of the royal party in Ireland, the return of most of the navy to their duty and obedience under the Prince of Wales, the numerous risings of many counties in England and Wales against that usurped power which kept his Majesty in restraint, and upon our own strength; for our army was intended to have been twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse and dragoons. But we never amounted to thirteen thousand in all. These were honest and fair motives for that loyal and well intended engagement of ours; but

"Ludit in humanis Divina potentia rebus."

Sir James, who had been taken prisoner with his General, was carried to Hull, where he remained in close confinement fourteen months. During that period he wrote several tracts, and, among others, "Collections on the State of Europe, from the year 1618, that the dreadful comet appeared, till the year 1638, that the Scots covenant appeared in the world," "which," says he, "produced as sad and lamentable effects as that comet did." At length he procured his liberty by being handed over to a widow, who was authorized by the Parliamentary government to raise a certain sum on him, in name of ransom. Colonel Overton suggested to him, that a little cash judiciously spent among the inferior order of Saints at Westminster, might open up a path

for his escape; telling him that a friend of his, Colonel Needham, had been recently killed in battle, and that, by way of provision for the widow, she should be instructed to petition Parliament to give her a prisoner, for whose release she might receive some money. The legislative body, it was expected, would refer the matter to Fairfax, and the secretary of the latter, for a small consideration, would find no difficulty in naming Turner as the widow's captive;—a plan which succeeded to the full satisfaction of all the parties concerned. The lady got forty pounds, the secretary five, and the adjutant-general of the Duke of Hamilton regained his freedom, on the sole condition that he should withdraw into some foreign land for the space of a year.

Turner remained in Holland and the neighbouring parts of Germany till Charles the Second, on the invitation of the Scots, landed in Britain, to make an attempt to restore the monarchy in his own person. The principles of the mercenary soldier were now fully confirmed on the side of royalty, and heartily opposed to the designs of the more rigid Presbyterians, who were led by Argyle and the commission of the Kirk. He therefore engaged in this new war with a more determined resolution than he had ever before entertained, to suspend his individual fortunes upon the issue of the controversy in which he was about to draw the sword. He was therefore strictly honest to his Majesty; but so powerful did he find the interests of the fanatical party in the southern districts of Scotland, that he soon perceived the necessity of imitating the hypocritical professions which the severe bigotry of the ministers wrung from the cavaliers, and which they had recently exacted from the King himself and his household. At this epoch, when Lambert occupied a large portion of the country, and the rigid Covenanters were in arms with intentions equally hostile to Cromwell and to their legitimate monarch, some of the better-natured of the Presbyterian preachers acceded to a scheme for allowing the military services of those noblemen and officers who had fought under the Duke of Hamilton, and had thereby incurred the pains of excommunication. On condition, therefore, that these persons, guilty of no crime but that of attempting to release their sovereign from confinement, should satisfy the Kirk by a public acknowledgment of their repentance for their accession to that sinful engagement, it was agreed that they should be declared capable of holding offices in the army and in the state. The King, who himself had submitted to the greatest insults, with the view of gaining the clergy, commanded all who had a mind to serve him to comply with the directions of the General Assembly in this particular; and hence, at the expense of much insincerity, the principal nobility and the more conspicuous among the cava-

liers found access to court, as well as commands in the new levies which had been raised under their own influence.

Nothing could be more ridiculous than to see men of rank confessing on their knees the sin of attempting to replace their Sovereign on his throne, at the very moment they were making preparations to repeat their efforts for the accomplishment of the same object! The Earl of Loudon, chancellor of the kingdom, was among the first to submit to the censure of the reverend fathers, for having merely countenanced an enterprise in which he took no active share. Openly, in the face of the church, he did penance for his obedience to the Parliament, who had assumed a momentary feeling of loyalty, which he condescended to call a *carnal self-seeking*. He accompanied his acknowledgments with so many tears, and such pathetic addresses to the people for their prayers in this his uttermost sorrow and distress, that a universal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience. The Earl of Lauderdale made a similar submission in the kirk of Largo, for having a hand in the late unlawful engagement. First, he acknowledged the sinfulness and unlawfulness of that course: secondly, his sorrow and remorse for having given accession thereto: thirdly, his resolution for the time to come to be wary of such courses. After this, says the annalist, Mr. James Magill did read the solemn league and covenant, and he held up his hand and did swear to the same. So the Kirk session gave him a paper, subscribed by the minister and clerk, testifying that they were well satisfied with his repentance.

“Behold a fearfull sinne! The ministers of the gospel resaved all our repentances as unfained, though they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit; and we on the other hand made no scruple to declare that engagement to be unlawfull and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing against the dictates of our own consciences and judgments. If this was not to mock the all-knowing and all-seeing God to his face, then I declare myself not to know what a fearful sin hypocrisie is!”

The author, who got from the King the command of a regiment, gives an interesting account of the state of things which preceded the bold resolution of marching into England, of leaving Cromwell in the North, and of thereby giving the royalists, in all parts southward of the Tweed, an opportunity to rise against the usurper. The amount of the Scottish army did not exceed thirteen thousand, of whom about four thousand were horse and dragoons. There was besides a small train of artillery, consisting of the imperfect ordnance used in those days, and including a few leather guns. The progress of this motley force, ill-

disciplined and indifferently commanded, was disgraced by plundering their own countrymen, "even to admiration and inhumanity." At Carlisle the prince was proclaimed King of England and Ireland with the usual shouting and demonstrations of loyalty; and pressing invitations were addressed to the royalists in the adjoining counties to take up arms, and to be ready to join the main army in its advance towards the capital. But the fruits of this campaign, as well as of that conducted by Hamilton, were lost through want of proper intelligence and co-operation. The invading host, besides, presented the appearance of an enemy in full retreat rather than that of an armament destined to place a sovereign on his throne. Cromwell was advancing with rapid steps to bring them to battle, while Lambert and Harrison hanging on their flanks, confined their quarters and threatened their outposts. The victory of Worcester soon afterwards put an end to this unequal warfare. The troops under Charles had received but a small increase from the cavaliers, who, dispirited by the repeated defeats which they had sustained from the republicans, were now more inclined to watch the progress of events than to expose their remaining strength to the hazard of an entire annihilation.

Turner was taken prisoner at Worcester, and was with a great many others sent on the way to London, where their appearance might demonstrate the crowning victory of Cromwell. But Sir James, accustomed to all the incidents of a military life, contrived to make his escape.

"I laye two days and nights in the garret of a new house which had neither door nor window in it. The search, which was not very strict, being over, and the prisoners with their guards pretty well advanced towards London, I creeped out of my retrate, and in a very pitiful disguise, accompanied by half a dozen of watermen, who had all served the late King as sojors, tooke my journey straight to London. The first day I walked afoot to Morley, which was twentie miles from Oxford, but my feet were so spoiled with the clouted shooes I wore, and myself so wearie, that my companions were forced to carry me almost the last two miles. Lustie, strong, and loyall fellows they were, bot extremly debauched. They missed not one alehouse on the way, and my paying for all the ale and beer they drank—for I thank God they would drink no wine—did not at all trouble me; bot it was a vexation to me to drink cup for cup with them, else they should have had no good opinion of me, and to them I was necessitated to reveal myselfe, my honest barger goeing before us all the way on horseback, and so serving us for a scout. At Morley I hired an old carcass of a horse from a knaveish old fellow, who made himselfe exceeding merrie with me, jeering me very broadlie; and indeed I was in so wofull a plight, that I was ridiculous enough, neither could any man have conceived that ever I had been ane officer in any armie of the world."

After various adventures, and certain narrow escapes from the hands of the dominant party, Turner found an opportunity to convey himself beyond seas, and even to join the court of the fugitive monarch at Paris. He soon afterwards removed with his master to the Hague; where he was employed in sundry missions to royalist merchants and officers, in different parts of Europe, whom it was thought proper to engage in the service of the King, as financiers and recruiting agents for a new army. Every one is acquainted with the unsuccessful attempt which was made during the year 1654, in the Highlands of Scotland, under General Middleton and Lord Glencairn; a rising, which, as usual, only involved the friends of the monarchy in deeper distress, and rendered them more diffident of one anothers honesty, and of ultimate success. Our author at that period acted the part of a political deputy and military partizan in the loyal districts of the North; but finding that the time was not yet arrived for restoring the King, he returned to the continent, and finally accepted a commission in the army of Denmark, then at war with his former allies the Swedes.

It is deserving of notice, that there is not in these memoirs the slightest allusion to any conspiracy for the assassination of Cromwell; a subject on which the Protector never ceased to utter his fears and complaints to the nation, and which he was wont to use as an argument for the maintenance of a large standing army, as also for the severities with which from time to time he visited the leading royalists in England. Of all others about the Court of Charles, this mercenary soldado was the most likely to be employed in a business, which required at once considerable firmness of nerve and laxity of conscience. It is, at all events, extremely probable that Turner, who was personally acquainted, and in habits of confidential intercourse, with Hyde and Ormond, would have heard something concerning such plots, if encouraged by the King's advisers, or even if entered into with their knowledge and concurrence. At the time, too, when Sir James wrote his autobiography, it would not have been thought a disgrace to have been known as a cavalier of so determined a spirit as to have conceived a design against the life of the usurper. But, so far from any such avowal, we find not the most distant intimation that it was ever intended by the counsellors of the exiled King that his way to the throne should be opened by so flagrant a crime. It may be remarked, moreover, in passing, that no attempt was ever made on the person of Cromwell. In his latter days, indeed, he was haunted by the terrors of assassination, and imagined that he saw a murderer in every unknown countenance which met his eyes; but no dagger was ever actually lifted up against him except

in the field of battle, and he was never exposed to the danger of any private pistol except the one which went off in his own pocket while driving his coach in St. James's Park.

We must go on, without noticing any intervening occurrences, till we arrive at the era of the Restoration. At this period Turner received the honor of knighthood, and a military command in the western division of Scotland, where the fanatical class of Presbyterians, no longer repressed by the strong hand of Cromwell, began once more to involve the country in confusion. It is on his conduct during this part of his life that his character has usually been suspended: and as the pen of history has, with few exceptions, been placed in the hands of his enemies, his reputation has of course met with very meagre justice. The remark of Montesquieu in regard to kings, is equally applicable to every inferior order of governors. "*Malheur à la reputation de tout prince qui est opprimé par un parti qui devient le dominant, ou qui a tenté de détruire un préjugé qui lui survit?*" This wise observation has been exemplified in all countries torn by civil dissensions and subjected to a change of government, but in none more strikingly than in Great Britain, where the spirit of faction has for two centuries extended to a larger mass of the people, and had greater scope for venting its malignities than in any other European nation. Turner, besides, belonged to a description of men against whom every calumny was most readily believed. He was a swordsman by profession, a licensed shedder of blood, and one of those of whom Grotius says "*nullum vitæ genus est improbius, quam eorum qui, sine causæ respectu, mercede conducti, militant.*" He had indeed relinquished the habits of mercenary warfare and obtained a regular commission under his native sovereign; but the atrocities of the German campaigns could not be forgotten, and it was piously believed among the deluded peasantry of the North that the generals whom Charles the Second let loose upon the Covenanters not only killed men and women, but actually devoured them after the manner of cannibals.

The plan recommended to the military by the Privy Council of Scotland was to punish those against whom informations were lodged, by billeting upon them a certain number of soldiers, as well as by exacting a sum of money in name of fine. Turner fixed his head-quarters at Dumfries, having under his command about eighty men, horse and foot; the greater part of whom were scattered over the country in the houses of the fanatics, eating and destroying as much as they could, with the view of inducing the poor farmers to forsake their conventicles, and give a weekly attendance at the parish church. The patience of the non-conformists was at length exhausted; and, accordingly, collecting

their hands from the neighbouring hills and morasses, they advanced to Dumfries in the night in considerable numbers, surprised Sir James in his lodgings, and carried him off a prisoner. He had received an indistinct notice that the insurgents were in motion, and had for that reason ordered in his men to join their colours at head-quarters at nine on the following morning. But between eight and nine the rebels entered the town and surrounded the house in which he resided.

“ I went to a window and called to them, having onlie my night-gown upon me, and inquired what they intended. Several of them told me that if I pleased, I should have faire quarter. My answer was, I needed no quarter, nor could I be prisoner, seeing there was no war declared. But I was answered that prisoner I must be or dye ; and therefore they wished me quickly to come down stairs, which I choosed rather to do than be murdered in my chamber for some of them had already entered the house. I went to the street in my gowne, where many pistols and swords were presented to my head and breast, till Captain Grey, who commanded the whole partie, made me get on horseback, and would have carried me unclothed out of towne, promising thereafter to send for my cloaths. But at length he was persuaded to go with me to my chamber, and to permit me to put on the cloaths I wore the day before ; in the meantime this Captain seized on a coffer of mine, where some bags of money, some linen, and some papers were. But his sojors got more in another chamber ; neither could I make him or his officers sensible of their oversight in suffering the rebels to carry away so much money with them. Before I could get myself in doublet, breeches and bootes (and haste enough I was commanded to make) I could see myself robbed of all the papers, moneys, horses, arms, cloathes and linens I had, though the Captain often promised that not any thing belonging properlie to myself should be imbecilled, and I as oft called out to them to take all and onlie save my papers ; this was faithfullie promised to me and faithleslie broken.”

There is a mystery connected with the appearance of Captain Grey who commanded the Covenanters in this enterprise ; for after he had seized the papers of Sir James Turner, and given orders for the disposal of his person, he took leave of the party and was not seen again during the subsequent march. The victors directed their progress towards Edinburgh, expecting to find the whole country ready to rise in support of their cause ; but learning, when they had advanced to the neighbourhood of the capital, that the higher class of citizens were in arms to prevent their entrance, they turned their faces to the South with the intention of seeking refuge in the upland district of Lanarkshire. The battle which followed, on the verge of the Pentland hills, is extremely well described by Sir James ; who, although a prisoner,

had an opportunity of viewing the whole affair with the eye of a soldier. There was a number of ministers among the insurgents, several of whom discharged the duty of officers, and even lost their lives in the field. When the conflict began, two of them who chose to retire into the rear, exclaimed from time to time, "the God of Jacob! the God of Jacob!" Turner asked his guard what the preachers meant by such an ejaculation; they replied "Do you not see that the Lord of Hosts is fighting for us?" On the contrary, he saw that the King's troops were employed in making a movement which would in all probability drive the Covenanters from the ground, and accordingly told the foolish rebels, that, if their party did not reel, run, and fly within a quarter of an hour, he would be content that they should pistol him. His prediction was speedily fulfilled; the rustic soldiers after one desperate charge took to their heels, followed by their canting ministers, who now gave ample proof that all their visions and revelations of success were the mere offspring of enthusiasm, or of a professional deceit more severely to be condemned. In the confusion which ensued, Turner made his escape; but he was not restored to his command, as the neglect with which he was chargeable in allowing himself to be surprised at Dumfries was considered a military offence too great to be overlooked. It was insinuated, besides, by his enemies, that to his severities alone the whole insurrection might be attributed, inasmuch as he had fined good and loyal subjects with the sole view of filling his private purse, and that he had quartered his troops upon families who had long relinquished the practices of non-conformity. Fortunately for Sir James the Covenanters who seized his papers, discovered that, so far from exceeding the instructions put into his hands as the rule of his official conduct, he had acted with great lenity and moderation; not having extorted half the sums which he was authorized to demand in the name of fines and assessments. But the several charges brought against him of cruelty and avarice, involved him in much trouble, and affected his reputation both as a soldier and as a patriot. At length he resigned his commission, retired into private life, and resumed his literary pursuits, in which he spent the remainder of his days. He threw some variety into this period of tranquillity by carrying on a correspondence with several of the most distinguished persons of the age, more especially with the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Arran, and the celebrated Bishop Burnet; all of whom were desirous to obtain intelligence from him respecting the latter campaigns of the civil war, and the benefit of his advice during the commotions which agitated Scotland in the closing years of Charles the Second. He appears to have died about the end of 1682, as no letters addressed to him

bear a more recent date, nor is his name mentioned in any transaction under the reign of James.

The main value of this work arises from the corrections which it supplies, in regard to sundry facts stated by other historians who were misled either by their ignorance or by their partiality. Clarendon wrote under a decided political bias; while in reference to military matters he did not possess the requisite information. The Scottish annalists, on the other hand, were not more free from prejudice, while their command of materials for constructing a perfect narrative was still more limited. Respect for their church, too, has induced them to draw a veil over the character of their ministers, during the troubled reigns of the two last of the Stuarts, and to vindicate their motives even when they were the leaders of an avowed rebellion. Burnett himself is compelled to admit that they were, generally speaking, illiterate, stiff, and unmanageable; and no reader requires to be told that they entertained the most narrow and impious notions of the Divine Being as the moral governor of the world. Turner relates that Robinson, one of their number who acted both as captain and chaplain, upon being asked to say grace before taking a draught of beer, "summoned God Almighty very imperiously to be their Secundarie," (for that was his language): "and if," said he, "thou wilt not be our Secundarie, we will not fight for thee at all, for it is not our cause but thy cause; and if thou wilt not fight for our cause, and thy owne cause, we are not obliged to fight for it." "This grace," adds Sir James, "did more fullie satisfy me of the follie and injustice of their cause than the ale did quench my thirst."

There is a remarkable coincidence between the contents of this volume, as well in regard to facts as to opinions, and those of Captain Creighton's *Memoirs*, supposed to have been written by Swift. Both officers served in the same army, supported the same views in Church and State, hated the Covenanters with the same intensity, and executed the laws against them with the same coolness and contempt. It is farther deserving of notice that they agree in the judgment which their experience in the Scottish insurrection had led them to form, in respect to the real character of the most noisy among the fanatical preachers. They both maintain that there was little religious feeling among them, no sincere piety, or heartfelt devotion; and moreover that several of them, especially Williamson and King, were suspected of certain violations of morality, which would not have been overlooked in less ardent professors. This coincidence in the historical collections of two writers entirely independent and ignorant of each others opinions, is very striking and cannot fail to command attention.

ART. V.—*Sermons, Explanatory and Practical, on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, in a Series of Discourses, delivered at the Parish Church of St. Alphage, Greenwich.* By the Rev. T. Waite, D.C.L. Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, and Master of the Grammar School, Lewisham Hill.

HUMAN societies arise from principles and feelings common to the individuals who compose them and every subdivision of these great communities has its centre of force, around which are assembled all those who sympathise with its peculiar energy. The political party has its creed, corporations their articles of union, and institutions of learning their tests and canons, and churches are distinguished by their modes of faith and rules of practice. Such bodies could not long exist, unless held together by some common bond of union, unless distinguished by some mark well understood by all their members; destitute of which, they would resemble an army without standards, buildings without cement, and ships without anchors. If their objects be important, unanimity desirable, dissension imminent, and error dangerous, the more necessary is it that every individual should rightly apprehend the character of the society to which he belongs, the purposes for which it was established, the grounds of the authority which it claims, the doctrine which it teaches, and the conduct which it requires. It does not appear easy to devise any better means for the attainment of these objects than what are offered by public declarations, adopted after mature deliberation, and promulgated with that degree of solemnity, which the occasion may demand. None need hesitate, in proper time and place, to avow their principles; except those principles be such as they are either ashamed or afraid to maintain.

The Christian Church has in all ages required public professions of faith, from those admitted within her pale. The earliest baptismal confession of faith, (and originally all confessions were such,) of which there is any record, is that made by Candace's treasurer to Philip, and by him required as an indispensable preliminary to the initiatory rite. "Sir," says the convert, "here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?" and Philip said, "if thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest." And he answered and said, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."—Acts, viii. 36. A simple acknowledgment that Jesus was the Messiah seems to have been all that was demanded, and, under the circumstances of the Church in that early age, this was sufficient. "The method," says Mosheim,

“ of teaching the sacred doctrines of religion was at this time most simple, far removed from all the subtle rules of philosophy, and all the precepts of human art.” But it was not in the nature of things that this simplicity should be permanent, or even of any long duration. Christianity was continually extending to a wider circle, and drawing within its limits men of every rank in society, and imbued with long-confirmed habits and prejudices: philosophers from every sect, and all replete with tenets more or less inconsistent with their new profession. There could be few indeed of them, who did not bring along with them into the Church some taint of their old principles; few even who would not fondly endeavour to spare some cherished notion, as a stock upon which they might ingraft the scion from the tree of life. The human mind does not, cannot, at once discard, as a loose robe is thrown off from the shoulders, opinions, long the boasted pride of reason, associated, perhaps, with endearing recollections, or venerated as a patrimonial inheritance. Besides this, the ancient schools of philosophy were inflamed with an ardent love of interminable disputation, and the questions chiefly agitated amongst them, and upon the resolution of which all their ingenuity had been so long exercised in vain, were precisely those of which the system of Christianity offered a satisfactory explanation. In receiving that explanation, they yielded to a temptation perhaps too powerful for human vanity to resist. They strove to connect the doctrines of the Gospel with their old tenets, and to support them by their favourite dialectics. Stoics, Academics, and Oriental philosophers, under new-names and upon a different field, still continued to dispute; and scarcely were the Apostles laid in their graves, when the purer light which their preaching had diffused, was refracted and obscured by a cloud of heresies. To collect the scattered beams, and enlighten the path of the believer, afforded continual employment to the pastors of the Church, and demanded the unwearied exercise of all their vigilance and care. To this origin we owe confessions and summaries of faith, and they who, in the present day, object to such formularies, would do well to consider what Christianity might have become, but for their conservative influence.

The sacred volume consists of a large number of pieces written by different authors, and embraces between the dates of the first and last piece in the collection, a period of many centuries. Whilst we admit that a single stupendous object pervades all these writings, and unites them into a perfect whole, we must also confess, that in the greater part of them, matters are included of a secondary and incidental character. History, ethics, prophecies, devotional pieces, ordinances of rites and ceremonies,

institutes, political and civil, take their turn, and present an immense mass of facts, precepts, oracles, antiquities, and laws, interspersed with topics of the most awful and universal interest to mankind. In the doctrinal portions of the volume, the subjects are not treated in a manner conformable to modern notions of system and regularity. Sometimes matters are rather hinted than declared; at others, the reader is left to deduce for himself an implied consequence, and not unfrequently he is obliged to collect from distant situations, and arrange the scattered members of an important article of faith, the true form and dimensions of which he can only comprehend after this task has been diligently performed. It is quite evident, that the skilful execution of such a task, demands the critical perusal of the Scriptures, to which plain Christians are incompetent. We do not allude to that branch of erudition generally known as Biblical criticism, and which, along with many other attainments, demands a minute acquaintance with the original tongues; we contemplate that lower exercise of the faculties, by which a man is enabled to comprehend the plan of a large work, to select from it the particulars which his purpose requires, and so to arrange them as to form a methodical and lucid summary of its contents. Nor if every man who reads the Bible were adequate to such a task, would there be any reason for requiring him to undertake it: as well might we impose on the theological student the necessity of making his own concordance; or expect that every mathematician should compute a table of logarithms for himself. The work once accomplished by competent hands, remains a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ* to succeeding generations, and imparts to the religious community which adopts it uniformity, dignity, and strength.

The early followers of the Reformation shared the fate of the first professors of Christianity, in being like them accused of holding the most impious tenets, of leading the most abandoned lives, and of seeking to throw off the authority of the old establishments, only that they might be enabled to pursue their licentious courses without restraint. “Quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat,” says Tacitus. “Nec habeat fidem,” are the words of the Augsburg Confession—“Cæsarea majestas, istis qui, ut inflammant odia hominum adversus nostros, miras calumnias spargunt.” And again—“Nam Cæsarea majestas haud dubiè comperiet tolerabiliorem esse formam et doctrinæ et ceremoniarum apud nos, quam qualem homines iniqui et malevoli describunt.”—*Confess. Augus.* 1581. One of the earliest cares of the Reformers was, to refute, if not to silence, the calumnious misrepresentations of their adversaries, by laying before the Christian world expositions of the points in which they agreed,

as well as of those in which they differed from the Romish Church. The earliest of these expositions, consisting of seventeen articles, was agreed upon at Sulzbach in 1529, and is known as the Articles of Torgau, from having been delivered by Luther to the Elector of Saxony at that place. Next in order, is the Confession of Augsburg, which may be considered as an extension of the Torgau Articles. It was drawn up by Melancthon, under the supervision of Luther, and was presented to the Emperor Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg, on the 25th day of June, 1530. At the same time were presented to that assembly certain articles of faith, called the Tetrapolitan Confession, from the pen of Martin Bucer, in the names of the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Meiningen, and Lindau, which had rejected the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence, and had adopted the opinions of Zuinglius. The Articles of Smalcalde, composed by Luther, followed in 1531. In the year 1536, the Helvetic Confession was drawn up at Basle by Bullingar, Grynæus, Bucer, and other eminent Protestant Divines; was enlarged in 1566, and received by all the Swiss Churches, that of Basle only excepted; the clergy of which, having a short time previous subscribed a confession of their own, deemed a second subscription unnecessary. The Saxon and Belgic Confessions appeared in 1551 and 1561, respectively. The former, written by Melancthon, was agreed upon in a Synod held at Wittenburg, and was presented to the Council of Trent. The latter embodies the doctrines held by the Protestant Churches of Flanders and the adjacent provinces, and was confirmed in 1571 by the States of the Netherlands.

These are the principal foreign Protestant Confessions. Amongst them the Confession of Augsburg is undoubtedly entitled to the first rank, whether we consider its authors, the time, the solemn occasion, or the consequences of its publication. By displaying to the world, in an authentic form, the genuine doctrines of the Reformers, it shamed the malevolence of their enemies, and confirmed the attachment of their friends. It was their deed of incorporation; it bound them together by the talismanic charity of one common name—a name which was soon to become synonymous throughout the world with liberty, religious and civil; a name associated with all that enlightens the understanding, exalts the character and ameliorates the heart—the name of Protestants. On that memorable 25th of June was raised the beacon-fire, whose signal repeated from province to province, and from kingdom to kingdom, conveyed far and wide over Europe the holy light of Apostolic Christianity.

This celebrated formulary opens with a preface addressed to

the Emperor, who, at that time, had assembled the Diet to deliberate on a war against the Turks. After alluding to this circumstance, it proceeds thus:—

“Deinde et de dissensionibus in causâ nostræ sanctæ religionis et Christianæ fidei, et ut in hac causâ religionis, partium opiniones, ac sententiæ inter sese, in caritate, lenitate, et mansuetudine mutuâ audiantur coram et ponderentur, ut illis quæ in Scripturis secus tractata aut intellecta sunt, sepositis et correctis, res illæ ad unam simplicem veritatem et Christianam concordiam, componantur et reducantur, ut de cætero a nobis una, sincera et vera religio colatur et servetur, ut quemadmodum sub uno Christo sumus et militamus: ita in unâ etiam ecclesiâ Christianâ, in unitate et concordia vivere possimus.”

This simple and affecting passage sheds a strong light upon the views, the wishes, and the spirit of the Reformers at that time. They rest their cause upon Scripture—they calmly appeal to reason, they earnestly express their anxious desire for Christian unity and concord—they are ready to sacrifice every thing for peace, except their consciences. How many calamities might have been averted from the Christian world, had their opponents been animated by a similar spirit; had they been wise or willing enough to understand, that antiquity, so far from consecrating abuses, furnishes an additional argument for their removal; and that, as every human institution is destined to suffer from the hand of time, a pertinacious resistance to all repairs must only accelerate its downfall. Should the course of time and the change of circumstances ever impose upon the Church of England the necessity of reviewing any part of her system, may her governors wisely profit by the salutary warning of this great example!

The confession itself consists of twenty-one articles, expressed with clearness and brevity, and not materially differing in doctrine from the Church of England, except in the Tenth Article on the Lord's Supper, in which the body and blood of Christ are declared to be verily present, and distributed to the partakers of that sacrament. The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Articles on Free Will and the Cause of Sin, are perhaps too metaphysical. To these twenty-one articles are annexed seven others, enumerating those abuses of the Romish Church, of which the Reformers especially complained—these were, 1. The Denial of the Cup to the Laity. 2. The celibacy of the Clergy. 3. Masses. 4. Auricular Confession. 5. Distinction of Meats. 6. Monastic vows, with the disorders thereupon incident; and 7. The power arrogated by the Church to interpret Scripture authoritatively, and to controul the Civil Magistrate. These topics are handled without asperity, and the objections advanced are sustained by reference to Scripture. The instrument bears the signatures of the

Elector of Saxony, the Marquess of Brandenburg, the Duke of Luneburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Saxony, of Francis, Duke of Luneburg, of the Prince of Anhalt, and of the Senate and Magistrates of the cities of Nuremburg and Reutlingen. Of all these confessions, (that of Augsburg perhaps excepted,) it may be remarked, that they more nearly resemble argumentative treatises than plain and simple enunciations of first principles, and in this respect fall short of the dignity which characterizes the Articles of the Church of England. In those we recognise the tone and air of a man who is making an humble and diffident appeal on behalf of his just rights, to a judge whom he knows to be prejudiced, but whom he wishes to conciliate, and fears to offend. The declaration of the latter assumes the demeanour of legislative authority, and to the confidence of truth, unites the calm consciousness of power.

The first formulary of faith published in this country, after the separation from Rome had been effected by Henry VIII. appeared in 1536, with this title—"Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions, which Articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the holie clergie of this Realme. Anno MDXXXVI." These articles were first printed by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, from a MS. in the Cotton Library, under the title of "Articles about Religion set out by the Convocation and published by the King's Authority." This copy differs in some unimportant particulars from the former, which is considered to be the authentic record. The "*Institution of a Christian Man*" appeared in 1537, and the "*Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*," in 1540, both under the sanction of the royal authority. These pieces were reprinted in one volume at the Clarendon Press in 1825; but as they are not in every one's hand, a short account of their contents may not be unacceptable to the general reader.

The Articles are introduced by a preface, in which the royal theologian expresses a very earnest desire for that most unattainable of all objects—religious unanimity. The articles themselves are ten in number; the first five relating to matters of faith, the second five to rites and ceremonies. Their titles are, 1. *The Principal Articles concerning our Faith*. 2. *The Sacrament of Baptism*. 3. *The Sacrament of Penance*. 4. *The Sacrament of the Altar*. 5. *Justification*. 6. *Of Images*. 7. *Of honouring Saints*. 8. *Of praying to Saints*. 9. *Of Rites and Ceremonies*. 10. *Of Purgatory*. In the First Article the clergy are commanded to teach the people "that they ought and must most

constantly believe and defend all those things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible, and also in the three creeds;" subjoining, "that whosoever being taught will not believe them, as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them, he and they cannot be the very members of Christ and his espouse, the Church, but be very infidels and heretics, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned." A terrible denunciation! which most men in the present day will, we presume, consider as more nearly allied to the temper of Henry than to the spirit of the Gospel. The Second Article enjoins the baptism of children, because they are born in original sin, which cannot otherwise be remitted; forbids a second performance of the rite, and condemns the Anabaptists and Pelagians. The Third Article declares the Sacrament of Penance necessary to Salvation, and states it to consist of contrition, confession, amendment of life, and reconciliation to the laws of God. Confession to a priest is enjoined, "if it may be had;" as warning is given not to "contemn this auricular confession, which is made to the ministers of the Church, but to repute the same as a very necessary and expedient mean, whereby they may require and receive absolution at the priest's hands." In the Fourth Article the doctrine of the real presence is maintained, the body and blood of Christ being asserted to be "corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received;" and that "under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there do presently see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary," &c. The Fifth Article on Justification does not contain any thing peculiar. In the Second Division relating to ceremonies, images, those especially of Christ and the Virgin, are allowed in Churches, but the people are to be cautioned against "censing them, kneeling and offering to them, and such like worshippings." Saints are to be honoured as having power to "advance our prayers and demands to Christ:" it is declared laudable to pray to them to intercede for us, and to keep their holy days as appointed by the Church. Sprinkling holy water, bearing candles on Candlemas Day, giving ashes on Ash Wednesday, bearing palms on Palm Sunday, creeping to the cross on Good Friday, kissing the cross, setting up the sepulture of Christ, hallowing the fount, "and all other like laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies, be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable." Prayers for the dead are recommended, "and also to cause others to pray for them in masses

and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain." At the same time it is declared to be "much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory have been advanced, as to make men believe, that through the Bishop of Rome's pardons, souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory."

It will be seen from this sketch, that at this period the only authorized changes in religion which had taken place in England, were the transfer to the crown of the Pope's supremacy, and a mitigation of some few of those grosser absurdities, which, as they had grown up in the Church during the darkness and ignorance of the middle ages, were now falling into discredit and gradually beginning to disappear, even in the Catholic countries on the Continent, before the rising light of the Reformation,* and the generally advancing intelligence of the age.

The "Institution of a Christian Man" is dedicated to the King, by the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates and Archdeacons of the realm, amongst whose signatures appears the subscription of Edmund Bonner, as Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards too well known in the reign of Mary. This work is a short treatise in four sections, in which are expounded the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster and Ave, with the Articles on Justification and Purgatory. The doctrines are those of the Articles of 1536, but in the practical part there is much which might be read with profit, even at the present day. The style of this composition is remarkable throughout for perspicuity and nervousness. The section expository of the Creed, if we may judge from the language, is the work of a separate and superior hand, and instances not unfrequently occur in it of flowing and harmonious construction. We may travel through many a modern author without meeting with anything equal to the style of the following passage.

"And I believe assuredly, that at this day, when Christ shall thus sit in the seat or throne of his judgment, all the people of the world, quick and dead, that is to say, as well all those which shall be found on life in the world, at the day of this second advent or coming of Christ, as also all those which ever sith the creation of Adam lived here in this world, and died before that day, shall come and appear before the presence of Christ, in their very bodies and souls. And when they shall be so gathered and assembled together, our Saviour

* "De quibus rebus (sc. de bonis operibus) olim parum docebant concionatores, tantum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant, ut certas ferias, certa jejunia, peregrinationes, cultus sanctorum, rosaria monachatum et similia. Hæc adversarii nostri admoniti nunc dediscunt nec perinde prædicunt hæc inutilia opera ut olim."—*Confess. August. Art. xx.*

Christ shall pronounce the extreme or final sentence and judgment of everlasting salvation upon all those persons, which in their lifetime obeyed and conformed themselves unto the will of God, and exercised the works of right belief and charity, and so persevering in well doing, sought in their hearts and deeds the honour and glory of God, and life immortal. And contrary upon all those, which in their lifetime were contentious, and did repugn against the will of God, and followed injustice and iniquity rather than truth and virtue, our Saviour Christ shall then and there pronounce the sentence of everlasting punishment and damnation.”—p. 47. *Oxford Ed.*

The “Necessary Doctrine and Erudition” is an amplification of the “Institution,” and is drawn up in a more popular manner, having been designed, as its commencement expresses, “for the institution and erudition of the common people.” At this time, the capricious and tyrannical Henry had thought fit to restrict the general perusal of the Scriptures, and caused this volume to be circulated as their substitute. His ordinance, which prefaces the work, states, “that for the other part of the Church ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all those folks that of duty they ought to be bound to read it, but as the Prince and the policy of the realm shall think convenient to be tolerated or taken from it. Consonant whereunto the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great many, esteeming it sufficient for those so restrained, to hear and truly bear away the doctrine of Scripture taught by the preachers,” &c. Some of the Romish doctrines are here enforced more strictly than in the “Institution,” a circumstance which the Oxford editor attributes, not improbably, to the greater influence which Gardiner then possessed, and most likely exercised in the preparation of the work.

Upon the accession of Edward VI. the first point which claimed the attention of those at the head of affairs, was to fill the episcopal sees with men well affected to the principles of the Reformation, as a preliminary step to the formation of a set of articles which should contain the doctrines of the Church of England.

“Many,” observes Burnet, “thought they should have begun first of all with those. But Cranmer, upon good reasons, was of another mind, though much pressed by Bucer about it: till the order of Bishops was brought to such a model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let the design go on slowly, than to set out a profession of their belief, to which so great a part of the chief pastors might be obstinately averse. The corruptions that were most important were those in the worship, by which men in their immediate addresses to God, were necessarily involved in unlawful

compliances, and these seemed to require a more speedy reformation. But for speculative points, there was not so pressing a necessity to have them all explained, since in these men might with less prejudice be left to a freedom in their opinions, &c. Therefore upon all these considerations, that work was delayed till this year, (1551,) in which they set about it and finished it before the convocation met in the next February. In what method they proceeded for the compiling of these Articles, whether they were given out to several bishops and divines to deliver their opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, is not certain. I have found it often said that they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, which I think more probable, and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or add to them as they saw cause."—*Hist. Reformation*, p. 2. b. i.

The Articles of King Edward are forty-two in number. The chief points in which they differ from the Articles of Elizabeth, may be classed under two heads. 1. Points of doctrine. 2. Omissions, additions and transpositions, made either for the sake of perspicuity, or in matters of inferior importance, or in such as are purely speculative. In points of doctrine, there are only two which are of great moment. One of them occurs in the second Article of Elizabeth, in which the eternal generation of the Logos and the Consubstantiality are expressly asserted, whilst in the corresponding Article of King Edward, these points are only implied. The other consists in a softened denial, and conveyed in general terms, of the real presence in the sacramental elements. In King Edward's Article, the denial of the real presence is grounded upon a metaphysical argument of the impossibility of one and the same body being in more than one place at the same time. To say nothing of the illogical oversight of applying an argument, deduced from the ordinary constitution of nature, to a miraculous exception from that constitution; the admixture of any arguments whatsoever in such a composition as articles of religion, appears highly objectionable. Where uniformity of assent to the conclusion is so difficult to be obtained, to insist also upon a particular line of deduction, is to superadd gratuitous difficulty without a purpose. Accordingly in the Article of Elizabeth, this clause is prudently omitted, and we have in its room the simple declaration, that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." Burnet is of opinion that this Article was altered, out of consideration for the Lutheran churches, which it was desired to bring, if possible, into communion with the Church of England.

The particulars most worthy of notice, which fall under the second head of Omissions, &c. are the following. Of King Edward's Articles, these six are omitted in the Articles of Elizabeth, viz. the 10th, of Grace; the 16th, on Blasphemy against

the Holy Ghost; the 39th, the Resurrection of the Dead is not past already; the 40th, the Souls of Men deceased do neither perish with their bodies nor sleep idly; the 41st, of the Millenarians; the 42d, intituled "All Men not to be saved at last." Of these it may be observed, that the subjects of the 10th and 16th, the *modus operandi* of grace upon the human will, and the exact nature of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, are questions evidently too subtle and obscure for Articles of Faith; whilst the subjects of the four last are plainly matters more curious than useful. Amongst the additions are the 5th, 12th, 29th and 30th Articles, and to the 5th of Edward is added the Table of the Canonical Books. The 19th of Edward, instead of constituting a separate article, is subjoined to the 7th of Elizabeth. The titles of the 15th and 35th of King Edward, which correspond to the 16th and 36th of the Elizabethan Articles, are changed from these respectively—"of the Sin against the Holy Ghost," and "of the Book of Common Prayer and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England," to the following, "of Sin after Baptism," and "of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers." There are many other alterations besides these we have mentioned, but chiefly verbal, and the general scope and tendency of the whole seems to be to relax the strictness of the Articles of Edward, with the view of facilitating communion with the other Protestant churches.

"Thus," says Burnet, "was the doctrine of the Church cast into a short and plain form: in which they took care both to establish the positive articles of religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists and enthusiasts of Germany; avoiding the niceties of schoolmen or the peremptoriness of the writers of controversy; leaving in matters that are more justly controvertible, a liberty to divines to follow their private opinions, without disturbing the peace of the Church."—*Hist. Ref.* p. 2. b. i.

The principles here mentioned seem to have been steadily kept in view by those eminent individuals to whom the Church of England is indebted for her Articles. Amongst those Fathers of our Church were men who to religious fervour and genuine piety united a large share of wordly sagacity. Some of them had been long familiar with courts, had mingled in public affairs during arduous and critical times, and in their own fortunes and persons had been deeply affected by the revolutions of their stormy age. Taught by experience and their knowledge of mankind, they cautiously abstained from intemperately asserting points unessential or obscure, whilst on the other hand their pious integrity guarded with scrupulous care every important Article of Faith.

Moderation was the prevailing feature of their character, and to rear their Church upon as enlarged a basis as the symmetry of its structure would admit, formed the rational and worthy object of their enlightened labours.

Such are the Articles of the Church of England, and she justly expects that all who join in communion with her, whether they be lay or clerical, should assent to their leading and essential doctrines. But the obligations which bind the laity and clergy are not co-extensive. If the layman do not find in the Church Articles anything incompatible with any matter of faith, by him esteemed fundamental and necessary to salvation, he can have no just pretence for breaking Church communion, although they may contain propositions of less importance to which he cannot agree. The man who can bring his mind to refuse joining with his fellow man in the worship of their common Creator, who disdains to prefer with him a joint claim to the benefits of their common redemption, because their sentiments happen not to coincide with mathematical exactness on such points, for instance, as the Divine decrees, or the efficacy of grace, and the obscure doctrines which are rather hinted at than revealed in Scripture: still worse, if their differences of opinion concern bells, and books, and vestments, and gestures;—such a man has no sufficient excuse for his conduct. To the laity there are Articles of peace; but of the clergy something farther is required, something beyond a silent acquiescence. Every candidate for holy orders must subscribe the Articles *ex animo*, and accept them in their literal and grammatical sense, without equivocation, must unfeignedly assent to them, as conformable throughout to the Word of God. His engagement runs, not merely to abstain from teaching anything contrary to the Articles, but pledges him actually and zealously to inculcate and support by his best efforts of reasoning, all that is agreeable to them. Wherever a latitude of opinion has been conceded, he is of course entitled to use it; for, as Burnet well observes,

“Where the Articles are conceived in large and general words, and have not more special and restrained terms in them, we ought to take that for a sure indication that the Church does not intend to tie men up too severely to particular opinions, but that she leaves all to such a liberty as is agreeable with the purity of the Faith.”—*Expos. 39 Art. Introd.*

This question of subscription has given rise to many sarcasms and much querulous murmuring, without a shadow of reason. There are many men who are too honest for hypocrisy, but who yet would find it very agreeable to enjoy the secular advantages of the Church upon their own terms. All of this class are loud in their declamations and complaints upon the *hardship*, as they

term it, which subscription imposes upon tender consciences. As for those professed enemies of our Church who presume to sneer at our clergy on account of the obligations under which they come by subscription, or to intimate their suspicions of the feelings and motives which actuate them in subscribing, they are best answered by contempt. What would these men say of a Protestant who should insinuate, that the Romish clergy generally perjure themselves when they take their galling oath of abject allegiance to their sovereign the Pope; or assert, that in a majority of cases, they take it "with a sigh or a smile?" Such charges prove only the narrow illiberality or the doting folly of their authors.

Every society has an undoubted right to regulate its own internal concerns, and to say upon what conditions it will admit strangers. The individual members of the society enjoy this right severally, and how do they lose it in their collective capacity? If men have any natural rights, independent of society, the right to regulate what exclusively concerns the individual must be one of those rights—must be the principal of them; and the next to it must be the right to transfer that principal right, wholly or partially, to another individual, or to a community. If, on the contrary, all rights have their origin in society, the right in question clearly belongs to society, is indeed essential to its existence, for in virtue of it alone can a separate society be constituted. From the beginning of time every society has exercised such a right, every village club in the kingdom exercises it; and why should that be denied only to the Church which is conceded without dispute to every meaner association?

Moreover, no man is compelled to enter into this society. He presents himself a voluntary candidate for admission; he has full opportunity of knowing beforehand what will be required of him; and farther, if at any future period his sentiments should change, he is permitted to withdraw. If this be not liberty, what is? But we often hear it said—if he be an honest man, upon changing his opinions he must relinquish his means of support. Assuredly; he received them under that condition: he undertook certain duties, and when he can no longer faithfully discharge them, he has no pretence to the reward. And let it be observed, that a cold formal discharge of those duties is not sufficient; to discharge them with his whole understanding and his whole heart were the terms of his contract. By the terms of that contract he is bound to abide, and he will abide by them, unless he be a hypocrite. But then, it is said, the honest man is subjected to the severe struggle between beggary—let us put the strongest case—between beggary for himself and family on the one hand, and the

claims of conscience on the other. What, then, is this a solitary case? If a military man, after passing the best portion of his life in the service, were attacked by conscientious scruples about the lawfulness of war, must not he also lose his past labours, and abandon his hopes of future promotion, or submit to the alternative of violating his conscience? The hardship of removal may be great to the individuals, but the injury which they might inflict upon their respective communities, by remaining in them, would be much greater. It may be urged that such cases of honest dissent are rare. Granted: but who shall distinguish the honest dissident, from the levity which follows novelty for its own sake, from the idle extravagance of vanity, or the vexatious restlessness whose element is contention? Where distinction is impossible, the rule must be applied to all, or to none.

The whole matter of clerical subscription lies in a small compass, and resolves itself into this question—are the Articles conformable with the Scriptures, or are they not? If a candidate for orders is unable to judge of their conformity, he is certainly unfit for the ministry. If he believe that they are not conformable, he must reject them: if that they are so, he can have no reason to hesitate—provided only, *that he believes the Scriptures*.

If the Articles contain any matters so purely speculative as to be unimportant—matters upon which the clergy generally neither do nor are expected to touch, in their public instructions, and the removal of which would not affect the other doctrines of the Church—to remove them might be attended by some advantages. But this has nothing whatever to do with subscription. It is one thing to determine what is expedient to be propounded, and another to assign the *animus* with which, when propounded, it ought to be received.

As for the laity, there is some reason to apprehend that the greater number of those who have Prayer-books feel as little curiosity about the Articles there bound up, as they do concerning the Act of Uniformity at the commencement. It is not improbable that this indifference may in part be ascribed to the want of popular expositions of the Articles, calculated to attract the attention of plain Christians to a subject not in itself generally inviting; of a work unembarrassed with scholastic divisions, free from metaphysical subtleties, not presupposing in its readers any acquaintance with councils, fathers, classics and controversies, but limiting itself to a clear statement of the conformity which exists between our Articles and Holy Scripture, and occasionally relieving the dryness of argument by practical applications; of a work, in fine, adapted to the leisure and inclination of that too numerous class of Christians, who, if they devote to these

subjects an hour on the Sabbath evening, either think that hour enough, or perhaps can afford no more. It may occasion no little surprise to some of our readers, to be informed that amongst the countless multitude of theological books which are continually issuing from the press, no such work as we have described existed, until the volume appeared whose title heads this article. We have, indeed, met with a single exception—if exception it may be called—but which the generality of our readers probably never heard of. We have before us a folio, bearing the title of “An Exposition upon the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, designed for the use of Families, by James Boys, Vicar of Coggleshall, in Essex. 1716.” It is written in a style which even at that time was antiquated, and is altogether below the standard of the present age, although probably both the work and its pious author may have been useful in their day. The wants of the divinity student, or of the mere man of letters and leisure, have, on the contrary, been abundantly supplied. At the head of this class of expositors we must undoubtedly rank Bishop Burnet. His Scripture testimonies are copious, his historical accounts of controversies are full, without being tediously minute; his statements of opposing arguments are fair, and his style easy and perspicuous. Veneer’s Exposition, in two volumes, may be read with advantage, as an introduction to Burnet, from whom he often borrows largely, as may be seen if the reader will take the trouble to compare, for instance, their respective expositions of the seventeenth Article. His chief defect lies in dwelling upon controversies of his time, which have long since sunk into oblivion. Archdeacon Welchman’s “Notes upon the Articles” exhibit a useful compendium of proofs from Scripture and the Fathers. Professor Hey’s Divinity Lectures, read in the University of Cambridge, are not often taken up by any except the clerical student, by whom they must always be regarded as a storehouse of theological learning, and valuable not less for their moderation and candour, than for the mass of erudition which they place under the eye of the reader. The exposition which forms part of Tomline’s “Elements of Theology,” is clear, able, and well adapted for the purpose intended by its author—“the use of young students in divinity.” It is not unsuitable for the educated general reader; but still it left vacant the *hiatus valde defendus* of the theological library. This chasm Dr. Waite has now filled, and filled it in a manner which we do not hesitate to pronounce will do good service to the Church of England. Under the circumstances of the present period, many will doubtless be of opinion that this service derives additional value from the time at which it has been rendered. That our Church has any thing to

dread from a late important measure, or from any measure far more important than that was, so long as she is true to herself, we never can apprehend. At the same time it appears to us, that the present conjuncture calls, on many accounts, for more than usual exertions. In Ireland especially, there is much to be done, and what is done quietly and unpretendingly, will as assuredly succeed as failure will be the certain consequence of ostentatious display. When the heats of political contention shall subside, and be succeeded by a season favourable to reason and reflection, if those advantages be taken of the opportunities which then will present themselves, in the way which sagacity may suggest, and a zeal according to knowledge effectuate—we may hope to see Protestantism extending on every side, and the blessings of industry, education, order and domestic happiness, which have ever followed in her train, overspreading a land now devoted to ignorance, outrage and barbarian recklessness. One powerful instrument for the accomplishment of these objects will be found in the circulation of books suited for the middle classes, (for here the grand effort should be made,) which, without hurting their feelings, or offending their just and natural pride, will show them what the doctrines of our Church really are, the solid grounds upon which they rest, and the irrefragable arguments adducible in their support. It strikes us that the volume now before us is well suited for this purpose.

To all who have any anxiety on this subject, we recommend a diligent perusal of this volume of Discourses, in which, according to our judgment, the author has fully attained the object which he had in view; namely,

“to impress a conviction on the minds of his hearers of the scriptural character of the Articles, and at the same time to show the important duties with which the belief of them is intimately connected.” “He does not presume to set up his own opinions as the standard of orthodoxy, but endeavouring to imitate the moderation of which the compilers have set him so eminent an example, he hopes he has proved that every one of the Articles may be easily deduced from the word of God, and therefore that they may be conscientiously subscribed by every clergyman, and ought to be received by every true Churchman.”—*Author's Preface*.

We shall now proceed to lay before the reader some extracts, which we do not doubt will excite in him a desire to see the whole of the work from which they are taken.

“That the great and glorious Being, whose unity we believe and whose perfections we adore, has deigned to reveal himself as standing in a threefold relation to us, as the Father who has made, the Son who has redeemed, and the Holy Ghost who sanctifies us—is the doctrine of our

Article. That it is also the doctrine of the word of God, I trust to be able to prove, and likewise to make appear that a sincere belief of it is a source of the highest hope and consolation.

“1. The truth of this distinguishing doctrine of the Christian revelation may be demonstrated by the three following arguments. 1. That the same names and titles of divinity are applied to each of the three Persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, by the sacred writers : 2. That the same perfections, attributes and works, are ascribed to them : and 3. That the same religious adoration was paid by the Church of old, and is still required to be paid to each.

“1. The infinite and eternal attributes of God, ‘the Father,’ have already been demonstrated. He has been proved to possess everlasting existence and unlimited power; his presence has been shown to be universal; his goodness infinitely beyond our thought or comprehension; his knowledge to embrace every object in the boundless regions of time and space. His wisdom is said in the Scripture, to work every thing after the counsel of his own will, and he is ‘the king eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God,’ to whom belong ‘power and dominion for ever and ever.’ Now if these glorious and awful attributes can with propriety be ascribed to any other persons, they must be acknowledged to be partakers of the same divine nature; for to that nature alone they belong, nor can they be communicated to any other. This is the point intended to be established in the Article.

“Were we in speaking of an earthly sovereign, to affirm that his existence was from everlasting, his power infinite, and his presence universal, we should be guilty of blasphemy; because we should attribute to a frail and fallible mortal, perfections which belong only to the eternal God: we should exalt a weak and dependent creature to a level with the supreme and incomprehensible Creator. Nor would the blasphemy be diminished, though this monarch were commissioned to make the will of Heaven known to all nations, and put in possession of a dominion that should last till time shall be no more. What are we to understand then, when, not only the names and titles of the Divinity, but his high and holy attributes also, are ascribed by the Prophets, the Apostles and Evangelists, to the man Christ Jesus? Are the sacred writers guilty of blasphemy, or is he truly and properly Divine?

“Holy men of God, speaking or writing on so momentous a subject as the incarnation of his blessed Son, would not intentionally use expressions calculated to mislead; and if ‘they spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,’ they could not want proper words to express their meaning. When such men ascribe, then, to Jesus Christ the names and perfections which belong to the ineffable God alone, we are constrained to believe that to Jesus Christ belong ‘the honour and might, the majesty and dominion,’ which are the incommunicable attributes of him; ‘who is over all, God blessed for ever.’

“Listen to the language of inspiration, hear in what terms the writers of the Old Testament speak of God, the Father, and compare them with the expressions applied by the writers of the New Testament to the Redeemer:—‘In the beginning,’ says the sacred historian, ‘God created

the heavens and the earth.' 'In the beginning,' says the inspired Evangelist, 'was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; all things were made by him.'—Disc. II. Art. 1, *Of Faith of the Holy Trinity*, pp. 14—16.

"To be present every where; to observe all things that are doing in heaven and earth, and by the dispensations of his providence to direct and controul all the affairs of the universe, are attributes that belong only unto God. Hence he declares unto Moses, 'In all places where I record my name, there will I come unto thee, and I will bless thee.' The same omnipresence is claimed by Jesus Christ, and a similar promise is made by him to his people: 'Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, *there am I* in the midst of them.' Jesus Christ is said also to rule all worlds; and to rule all worlds he must be present in all worlds. He is represented also as at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time present with his servants in their trials and afflictions upon earth. This universal presence and unbounded dominion, asserted by the sacred writers to belong to the Saviour of the world, must incontestably prove him to be truly and properly divine.

"Eternity, or an existence without beginning and without end, is another attribute peculiar to the Almighty. 'From everlasting to everlasting,' says the Psalmist, 'thou art God.' And the same eternity is attributed to Jesus Christ, by both the prophets and apostles. Isaiah styles him 'the everlasting Father.' And of him the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.' His unchangeableness he contrasts with the mutability of all created things; they shall perish, but he shall endure; and whilst all created beings pass away, 'Jesus Christ,' he declares, 'is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

"But not only the same attributes, the same works are also ascribed to Jesus Christ as unto God. He is said to have spread the heavens above our head, and to have laid the foundations of the earth beneath our feet: 'for by him were all things created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible.' The preservation also of the universe is in like manner attributed to the Redeemer: 'for he upholdeth all things,' says the Apostle, 'by the word of his power,' and 'by him all things consist.' Now creation, the Apostle Paul argues, is the strongest demonstration of eternal power and Godhead; and they who, from the creation of the world, do not infer the eternal power and Godhead of the Creator, he affirms to be without excuse. The divinity of Jesus Christ, then, if there be any truth in the word of God, cannot be controverted; for he is the creator, the preserver, and the governor of the world; to him belongs that empire which knows no bounds but those of the universe; and 'his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.'—*Ibid.* pp. 19—21.

"II. By a testimony not less clear and decisive may the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit be proved. That the Holy Ghost is distinct in person from the Father and the Son, is apparent from the distinct operations attributed to him in the Scriptures. A person is a sepa-

rate voluntary agent. ‘The acts of a mind prove the existence of a mind; and in whatever a mind resides is a person. The seat of intellect is a person.’ The acts of the Spirit of God, therefore, prove the personality of the Spirit of God. He comforts, he enlightens, he sanctifies his people. The Redeemer styles him the *Comforter*. He assures his disciples that he will send *him* to them, and that *he* shall testify of him. The apostles also represent him as an intelligent agent, speaking and willing his own purposes; and he is frequently described as sending his messengers, as teaching, reminding, or reproving mankind, as grieved at their wickedness, and forsaking them for their sins. These representations sufficiently prove that the Holy Spirit is not a power or operation of the Father or the Son, but a separate voluntary agent; his divinity is demonstrated by the same arguments as those by which that of our blessed Redeemer is established. The same divine names and titles are given to him by the sacred writers; to him they ascribe the same infinite attributes and perfections; and they represent him as equally, though distinctly engaged with the Father and the Son, in the magnificent and mysterious works of creation and redemption.”—*Ibid.* p. 22.

“The difference between those who believe and those who deny this important doctrine, is not merely of opinion, but of condition and hopes. The one is reconciled to God by the death of his Son; the other is at enmity with his Maker. The one enjoys all the inestimable benefits of Christ’s redemption; the other is insensible of their existence. The one has received the gift of the Holy Ghost; the other has ‘not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.’ The one has all the persons of the ever-blessed Trinity united in promoting his peace and salvation; the other is without any assured interest in their favour. The hope of the one is full of immortality; clouds and darkness overhang the future prospects of the other.”—*Ibid.* pp. 25, 26.

“To be styled the ‘Son of God’ is of itself a sufficient proof that Jesus Christ is of the same substance with the Father, ‘the very and eternal God;’ for what difference of nature can there be betwixt a father and his son? If this term were applied to him, indeed, in regard to his human nature alone, it would only prove that he was called the Son of God in a more eminent sense than other men; but St. John teaches us, that this title is given him in respect to his divine nature. That Evangelist begins his Gospel with a precise account of the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ, whom he styles ‘*the Word*.’ ‘In the beginning,’ he says, ‘was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; and the Word was made flesh, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.’ These solemn words fully express the doctrine of the first proposition of our Article; they declare the divinity of the Word, or Son of God; they reveal the distinction that subsists between his person and that of the Father, and they imply that he was ‘begotten from everlasting of the Father;’ for, according to the language of St. Augustine, ‘he who was always a Father, had always a Son; the Father could not be eternal without the Son’s being so likewise; neither can there be a Son without generation. The same doctrine is taught by the Prophet Micah, who

foretold that the ruler to be born for the redemption of Israel, should be he, 'whose goings forth have been from of old, *from everlasting*.' St. Paul also declares, that, 'in the fulness of time, God sent forth his Son made of a woman;' so that he was the Son of God before he was made of a woman. In another place also, he assures us, that 'he was the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person.' Eternal generation is, indeed, an idea far beyond the reach of our understanding; yet if we presume to assign a time for the 'going forth' of the only begotten of the Father, and set limits to the existence of him who is 'from of old, from everlasting,' we make the eternal Son of God a creature, and consequently neither entitled to the worship which he claims, nor capable of effecting the salvation for which he was sent."—Disc. III. Art. 2, *Of the Word or Son of God*, &c., pp. 30, 31.

If this volume should fall in the way of any persons—young persons especially—who either from inadvertency, thoughtlessness, or any other cause, have joined in the assemblies of those who, in their own conceited language, are "*people who think for themselves*," thereby meaning that they deny the divinity of Christ,—we earnestly intreat them to read—to read and to maturely consider—the second and third of these Discourses. If they are really desirous of finding "that better way," if they are honestly endeavouring to think for themselves, their own good sense will immediately point out to them the necessity of being informed on both sides of the question.

The following passage from Discourse IV. Article 3, on Christ's descent into hell, deserves attention for the practical use which it draws from an obscure and doubtful point of theology.

"A reception of this doctrine is not to be considered as essential to salvation. Yet on account of the constant profession we make of our belief of Christ's descent into hell, whenever we repeat the creed in the Church, it is important to understand clearly what we mean. Every thing also that relates to the Redeemer cannot but be interesting to the heart that loves him; and a very low estimate must be taken of that man's religion who can treat any action of so glorious a benefactor as a matter of indifference. But though an error on this point may not be followed by any pernicious consequences, yet a knowledge of the truth is of great value and importance, and has a stronger bearing on the faith and practice of Christians, than a slight consideration of the subject may lead us to apprehend.

"In the first place it shows that what the Son of God undertook for our redemption, he has completely fulfilled. He was to satisfy for mankind the law of death; he was to undergo that punishment to which the sin of Adam had subjected all his posterity. Had no intimation been given of the separation of the soul from his body, the enemies of his religion might have said that his death was but a trance, and his resurrection only an awaking from a long continued sleep. Now we are assured that his dissolution was real; his body, like that of other men, returned

to the earth as it was, and his spirit returned to God, who gave it. His resurrection, therefore, could be no delusion, but will remain an everlasting monument of the truth of his religion, and a sure foundation of hope and comfort to his followers through all generations.

— “The departure of his soul to the abodes of the blessed proves also a truth denied by some ancient heretics, and not always clearly understood and fully assented to by modern Christians, that our Redeemer really had a human soul. Many are still prone to consider the Saviour only as a Divine being, and to imagine that the eternal Son of God merely animated a human body; and thus while they are desirous to honour the Son even as they honour the Father, forget the consideration that is due to the man Christ Jesus. ‘But the right faith is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man. God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the world; and Man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world; perfect God, and perfect Man; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.’ And this doctrine of the humanity of the Son of God is full of consolation and encouragement. It shows us that our Redeemer was a being subject to the like feelings and passions as ourselves; that he has undergone the same trials and temptations, and therefore knows how to make allowance for us when we fall, and to succour us when we are tempted. It proves also that there must be something of a sublime and immortal nature in the human soul, which was thought worthy of so intimate an union with the Son of God, and teaches us to aspire to the highest degree of communion with the Deity, for which we hence learn that our nature is fitted, and for which it was so manifestly designed. Were we as deeply impressed with this reflection as we ought, how anxiously should we endeavour to disengage ourselves from those sensual allurements that chain down this particle of the Divinity within us, and to free our minds from the perturbations of earthly passions, which so intercept and interrupt our communion with our God.”—pp. 54, 55.

In the twenty-ninth Discourse on the twenty-eighth Article, we have a summary of the principal arguments against Transubstantiation, urged in a clear and forcible manner; but so untinged with any thing like illiberal feeling, so free from all controversial asperity, that the most rigid Roman Catholic could not possibly find in them the slightest reason to take offence. Indeed this character pervades the whole work.

“The language of the New Testament is often highly figurative, but its metaphors are in general easy to be understood. Our Lord, for example, calls himself the true vine, and the door of the sheepfold; yet no one considers him as a door or a tree: so in the Sacrament, when he commands us to eat his body and blood, we have no more reason to think he means that the bread and wine are his real body and blood. Yet a desire to increase the veneration of the people for this ordinance has led the Romanists into this error, and it is now universally believed amongst them that the elements in the Lord’s Supper are actually changed by consecration into the real body and blood of Christ. This is

the doctrine of Transubstantiation condemned in the Article, which, it says, 'cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.'

"Strange as this doctrine may appear, it has been received by men of the finest understanding; and the most powerful talents have been employed in endeavouring to explain the nature of the transformation. The most ingenious theories have been invented, and the most subtle logic employed to establish that which is immediately disproved by our senses. The scriptural authorities urged by the Romanists in its favour are the words used by our Lord:—'Take, eat; this is my body and this is my blood;' and also his discourse to the Jews, recorded in the Gospel of St. John, in which he says, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.'

"That the first of these expressions is merely a figure is evident, because Jesus Christ was then living and addressing his disciples. He could not take his body in his hands, nor offer them his blood in the cup, for it had not yet been shed. If the bread which he brake had been changed, he would have had two bodies, one of which would have been instrumental in presenting the other to his apostles. Of such a transformation they do not appear to have had the smallest idea; and if it took not place in this first sacrament, what reason can we have to believe it has been effected in any other?

"It is doubted by many eminent divines, both Catholics and Protestants, whether the discourse of our Lord, recorded by St. John, has any reference to the Sacrament. If it has, and the words, as the Papists contend, are to be taken literally, they prove that our Saviour's body is *bread*. 'I am the living *bread*, which came down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.' But *bread*, they maintain, is never eaten in the Lord's supper.

"Jesus Christ has also expressly declared that nothing corporeal is intended by these expressions, but that they are to be understood in a spiritual sense. 'The words,' he says, 'that I speak unto you, they are *spirit* and they are life.' So little foundation is there in Holy Writ for the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

"The Article next asserts that 'it overthroweth the nature of a sacrament.' It does this by confounding the outward and visible sign with the inward and spiritual grace. Bread and wine are the outward sign in the Lord's supper; the body and blood of Christ are the invisible objects. Admit transubstantiation, and the bread and wine continue a sign no longer: they become the very things signified, and instead of a *sacrament* we have a *sacrifice*. St. Luke also states that our Lord commanded his disciples 'to do this in *remembrance* of him.' To eat and drink his body and blood in remembrance of his body and blood, is to use him who is present in memorial of himself supposed to be absent. This abolishes the commemoration intended by Jesus Christ, and consequently 'overthroweth the nature of a sacrament.'

"That transubstantiation should give 'occasion to many superstitions,' was naturally to be expected. For what honour can be too

great to be offered to a crucified Deity immediately present to the senses! What efficacy too wonderful to be looked for from a sacrifice so divine! The Romanists therefore suppose that the sacrifice of the mass renders the prayers of all present acceptable to the Almighty, and that the consecrated host is capable of procuring benefits both for the living and the dead. It is imagined to have an efficacy peculiar to itself, and to operate independently of the heart and understanding. Hence they not only use the consecrated wafer for the cure of diseases, but kneel before it, as in the presence of incarnate Divinity. Communicants are, indeed, by our own Church commanded to receive the sacrament kneeling; but this is explained in the Rubrick, not to be done in acknowledgment of the corporal presence of Christ, 'but only for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of profanation and disorder.' Kneeling seems to be the posture best suited to those who are confessing their sins, and most expressive of the humility and gratitude that ought to fill the hearts of the partakers of a sacred ordinance.

"Transubstantiation is a doctrine of comparatively modern origin. It was not so much as known in the Church for upwards of 800 years, nor was it publicly acknowledged as a tenet of the Church of Rome until it was asserted to be 'the only true and orthodox' doctrine, by the fourth Lateran Council, held in the year 1215. It is not mentioned by any of the Fathers, and St. Augustine, whom the Roman Church venerates more than them all, lays down this rule for the right understanding of Scripture. 'If the speech,' he says, 'be a precept forbidding some heinous wickedness or crime, or commanding us to do good, it is not figurative; but if it seem to command any heinous wickedness or crime, or to forbid that which is profitable or beneficial to others, it is figurative. For example, 'except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' This seems to command a heinous wickedness and crime, therefore it is a figure, commanding us to communicate of the passion of our Lord, and with delight and advantage to lay up in our memory that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.'"—pp. 410—414.

The reader is now able to judge of the work before us for himself. We shall only add, that if from these specimens he shall be induced to go through the volume, we anticipate, judging from our own experience, that he will rise from the perusal gratified and instructed.

ART. VI.—*Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*. By John, Bishop of Lincoln, and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deightons. London: Rivingtons. 1829. 8vo. pp. 219. 7s. 6d.

It is no uncommon thing in the present day to meet with persons, who, by the help of a slight and second-hand acquaintance

with the treatises of Daillé and Barbeyrac, have persuaded themselves without further examination, that the writings of the earlier Christians are utterly worthless, and calculated rather to give support to error than to throw any useful light on Scripture, or to advance the cause of truth. They have been told, perhaps, that the Church of Rome appeals to the writings of the Fathers for a proof, that those peculiar points in her faith and practice, which we reprehend as the corruptions of a later age, were in fact the tenets of the primitive Christians, and have been invariably maintained by the Catholic Church, from the very days of the Apostles till now: and being firmly persuaded that these tenets are contrary to Scripture, and, consequently, false and pernicious, they cast off all regard to the authority of antiquity, and look not merely with distrust, but with aversion and disdain, to the opinions of men, whom they have accustomed themselves to consider as the precursors of Popery, and the corruptors of the simplicity of the Gospel. "Give us," they say, "the warrant of Scripture; show us any thing plainly revealed therein, and we are ready to embrace it with unhesitating faith; but tell us not of the opinions of the Fathers, for in things pertaining to God we cannot bow to any human authority—much less to the authority of those whom we believe to have been the parents of error." In this way of groundless assumption, which they would fain have pass for cogent argument, some, who are accounted guides by the unlearned, attempt to justify their prejudices, or to veil their ignorance.

Now when we appeal to the testimony of the Fathers, we appeal to them not as *judges*, but as *witnesses*. In the first place, we appeal to them as "witnesses and keepers of Holy Writ;" and prove from their testimony, and from it alone, the integrity and inspiration of the New Testament. Suppose we had no proof from the writings of the earlier Christians that, from the very first foundation of the Church, the four Gospels which we now receive, and none but those, were appealed to, as the inspired works of the Evangelists, whose names they bear; or suppose that their evidence had leant wholly on the other side, that they had mentioned the writings of the Evangelists seldom, or slightly, and had quoted with approbation and deference the Gospel of the Nazarenes, or the compilation of Marcion; and, that they had left us wholly in the dark, and without any means of ascertaining from their testimony, whether they received as inspired, or rejected as spurious, those other Apostolical writings which complete the canon of the New Testament. Is it not evident that, on this hypothesis, the foundations of our faith would be utterly removed, or at least, that our present Scriptures could form no secure part

of it? Were no other benefit to be derived from the study of the Christian Fathers, their testimony to the integrity and inspiration of God's Written Word, as it is now received in the Church, would render their works of inestimable value; for if it were possible to deprive us of them, we should be sorely puzzled to separate the chaff from the wheat, to distinguish between truth and error, and to render a reason for the hope that is in us. This will, on mature consideration, be admitted by every reflecting mind. But the generality of persons seem hardly to be conscious in how great a degree their faith and practice is supported by the tradition of the Church, handed down to us in unbroken succession from the Apostolic age, and clearly traced through the writings of the Fathers. To make this matter plain we must again have recourse to supposition.

Let us suppose, then, that a Christian missionary should make his way, with the Bible in his hand, to some country in Central Africa yet undiscovered, and wholly cut off from all means of intercourse with any Christian people: that, on his arrival into this country, he should faithfully translate the entire Scriptures into its vernacular language; and having succeeded in convincing the inhabitants that this book was the inspired Word of God, and that their salvation depended on their embracing its doctrines, and conforming to its rules, he was, at this point of his labours, cut off by disease, before he had had time to form the people into a Christian community; thus leaving them without guidance to draw their own conclusions from the Sacred Volume, and to constitute a church for themselves, without any knowledge of the government and discipline of other churches, and without any means of referring for direction either to their rites and ceremonies, or to their formularies of faith. When we consider what infinite varieties of opinion, both as to discipline and doctrine, prevail among those who are possessed of these auxiliary lights, we find it impossible to believe, that a people in the situation we have just supposed, should ever be able to arrive at any thing like unity of faith or practice, or even to form the first rudiments of a Christian church. Few will be so bold as to affirm, that the apostolical form of church government is so plainly laid down in Scripture, that a people so circumstanced must necessarily find it out, or that the doctrines of the Trinity in Unity, of the Christian Sacraments, and of the necessity of observing the Lord's Day, and of the manner in which it ought to be observed, are all so plainly revealed, that they could not fail to discover them; and few will be so prejudiced as to deny, that they would almost of necessity fall into every imaginable kind of heresy and schism, without a hope of having their divisions healed and their errors rectified, till

they became acquainted with other and older Christian churches, and learned from them to regulate their discipline, to reform their rites, and to interpret Scripture in conformity to the creeds of the Apostolic age, and the uninterrupted tradition of the Catholic Church.

Many Christians amongst us, in denying their obligations to the ancient Fathers, and asserting their own sufficiency, without *their* aid, to extract from Scripture alone a perfect knowledge of all that it is necessary for us, as Christians, to believe or to do, act just as ignorantly, or just as dishonestly, as the modern Deist does in denying his obligations to Scripture, and asserting the sufficiency of reason alone to guide us to the knowledge of God, and of all our duty towards him. But, after all, there are very few (perhaps we should rather say *none* in their senses) who do not habitually seek to prove the truth of their religious tenets, and to show that their views of Scripture doctrine are sound and orthodox, by appealing to the public formularies of their church, or to the authority of men of great repute for piety and learning, who have openly maintained the same opinions. For as the Christian religion was delivered to the world perfect and complete in all its parts and proportions, by those to whom the office of promulgating it was divinely committed, it follows, that whatsoever is new in religion must of necessity be false; and this consequence is so universally perceived, that, with the sole exception of such enthusiasts as fancy that they themselves have an extraordinary divine commission, those who acknowledge the Written Word of God to be the only rule of faith, are no less anxious than the Romanist to prove that *their* interpretation of Scripture is the same with that which was received from the beginning. And this can hardly be done, (unless men will be so obliging as to take it for granted,) in any other way than by tracing it upward through the Fathers to the Apostles themselves, or at least, to the age immediately succeeding them. The Romanist has added what he calls the Unwritten Word to the Written Word of God; and he cannot be confuted, but by showing that the Church from the beginning appealed to Scripture, as the sole and sufficient rule of faith, and that those traditions, which have no support in Scripture, and which constitute the Unwritten Word, are not, as it is pretended, of apostolical origin, but are clearly the offspring of far later ages; and this cannot be done but by a careful investigation of the ancient Fathers and historians of the Church. The Socinian, on the other hand, takes from the Written Word, and denies almost every doctrine peculiar to the Christian revelation: the Quaker denies that the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist were instituted by Christ for the perpetual observance of

his people. The tenets of these sectaries are so diametrically opposed to the plain words of Scripture, that it may seem that an appeal to Scripture alone is requisite for their entire confutation. Yet, in disputing with the Socinian or the Quaker, every one perceives what confirmation is added to the literal interpretation of Scripture, by proving, that from the days of the Apostles, the doctrines of the Godhead of Christ, his Incarnation and Atonement, were invariably maintained throughout the whole extent of the Catholic Church; that those sacraments were universally believed to be generally necessary to salvation, and that there never was a time in which the observance of them was intermitted. If all the Christian writers of the three first centuries had observed a deep silence on all these points, if in the entire compass of their writings we could find no trace of these fundamental doctrines, we must have been forced to abandon them, not merely as matters of doubtful disputation, but as the manifest corruptions of a later age, which had attached to the words of Scripture a sense unknown to the Apostles, and never recognised in the first and purest ages of Christianity.

All this implies not the smallest defect or insufficiency in God's written Word. Every pious mind will join with gratitude in the rapturous exclamation of Tertullian: "*Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem.*" What makes this plenitude of Scripture, as an entire and perfect rule of faith and practice, so truly wonderful is this, that the sacred writers never had it in their minds to draw up such a rule for the guidance and instruction of the Church; but the Holy Spirit, by which they wrote, so ordered the matter, that though the separate treatises which compose the canon of the New Testament were, for the most part, occasionally written, and expressly adapted to the existing circumstances of the churches to which they were respectively addressed, yet there is no necessary point of doctrine or of discipline, of faith or practice, which is not *somewhere* contained in Holy Scripture, or plainly deducible from it: but this very want of copiousness, of method, and systematical arrangement, again makes it necessary that we should have recourse for guidance to the writings of the earlier Christians, and above all, to those compendious summaries of Christian doctrine, those *τύποις διδασκαλίας*, as the apostle calls them, which were unquestionably drawn up for the instruction of their converts by the direction of the apostles themselves.

If it be required of every Christian minister, not only to persuade the docile, but "to convince the gainsayers;" if every scribe that is rightly instructed in the kingdom of God should be able, like a wealthy householder, to produce out of his treasures things new and *old*; it must be admitted that the study of the Christian

Fathers—those at least of the three first centuries—should form an indispensable part of every well arranged system of theological education; and that it is rather more to be desired, that those who are designed for the work of the ministry should acquire, during their residence in our learned universities, a competent knowledge of the Fathers and historians of the primitive Church, than that they should attain a critical skill in the niceties of Greek metre, and dedicate the whole of their time to the cultivation of a classical taste. It was by their profound *theological* learning, by their intimate acquaintance with the venerable remains of Christian antiquity, that the great divines of the Church of England, who flourished from the Reformation to the Restoration*—men “famous in their generation, men of renown”—secured to themselves a never-dying name, and, by God’s blessing, purified our national Church from all its corruptions, and restored it, both in discipline and doctrine, as near as it was possible to the faith and practice of the apostolic age. The revival of those studies, which are so indispensable to sound theology, will, therefore, be regarded with great satisfaction by all who feel a true concern for the welfare of our national Church, and who know how important it is, that those who are entrusted with the office of inculcating and maintaining its pure doctrines should be able to distinguish accurately between truth and error; not mistaking for Popery some of the usages and tenets of the primitive church, nor taking for Gospel truth the crude conjectures and unauthorised conclusions of certain modern half-dissenters, who are utterly ignorant of the constitution of the Christian Church, whose remotest researches into *antiquity* hardly extend through two centuries, and with whom the opinions of Owen, Howe, and Baxter, weigh more than the consentient judgment of all the ancient Fathers: and if such a revival has actually taken place,—if the students of divinity in both our universities have had their attention again directed to “the old paths,” and they are beginning to ask “where is the good way, and to walk therein;” if the Regius Professors of Divinity, both at Oxford and Cambridge, have offered themselves as guides in this long-deserted track,—to the Bishop of Lincoln belongs the exclusive honour of having given the first impulse to the work, and of laying the foundation of a school of theology, which, we trust, will enable the divines of the present age to rival the achievements of their most distinguished predecessors, and preserve us from the infidel encroachments of German neologism, and the insidious approaches of modern Popery.

* Those most learned prelates, Dr. W. Beveridge and Dr. Geo. Bull, though they were not consecrated bishops till the reign of Queen Anne, belong to this period. Beveridge was born, A.D. 1636; Bull, 1634.

Nearly four years have now elapsed since Dr. Kaye presented to the public his "Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian." In that work, which contained the substance of a course of lectures delivered by the author, as Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, during the Lent and Easter terms of 1825, the learned Prelate adopted the arrangement of Mosheim, filling up his outline, as far as it was practicable, from the materials which the writings of Tertullian supplied, and examining the doctrines of the Church in Tertullian's day, in the order in which they stand in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. To the whole was prefixed a life of Tertullian, in which all that could be collected of him was ably told, with a general account of his various treatises, distinguishing those which were written before and after his addicting himself to the schism of Montanus; and, under some one or other of the heads into which the work was divided, a complete analysis was given of all Tertullian's writings, interspersed with many very valuable remarks and criticisms, and evincing, in almost every page, the Bishop's intimate acquaintance with his author, the extent of his reading, and the soundness of his judgment. When the Bishop of Lincoln's work on Tertullian first made its appearance, some objections were made to its title, and some to the too great technicality of its arrangement—especially with reference to the manner in which almost all our Thirty-nine Articles were supported by quotations from Tertullian. It is difficult, perhaps, for a divinity professor to make his lectures generally interesting. If it *can* be done, we are confident that those who now fill the theological chair in our ancient universities will discover the secret. Meanwhile, with respect to the Bishop of Lincoln, whilst we are ready to admit, that a more inviting plan might have been thought of for a printed book, we can hardly imagine how a better method could have been invented for a course of public lectures, designed almost exclusively for the instruction of a class of students who were candidates for ordination in the Church of England. Of this, at least, we are sure, that many years must pass before any English student in divinity will attempt to go through the works of Tertullian without the help of Dr. Kaye's Analysis; and that the time will never be when those who are best versed in the productions of this Father, may not recur with pleasure and with profit to the "Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian."

The work which is now before us is very modestly entitled "Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr." It more than fulfils the promise of its title; and whilst it is free

from all the faults, real or imaginary, which were imputed to its predecessor, it abounds in all its excellencies; everywhere exhibiting the most intimate acquaintance with the writings of the author, and affording the strongest proofs of acute discrimination, sound learning, and solid judgment. It contains, as we are informed in a short advertisement, the substance of part of a course of lectures delivered in the Lent term of 1821—four years prior to the date of the lectures on Tertullian—and gives us, in the first chapter, a very brief account of St. Justin's life, with an analysis of that portion of his works which the learned prelate considers to be genuine; the four next chapters are occupied with a masterly exposition of Justin's opinions respecting some of the most important articles of Christian doctrine; the sixth chapter contains an inquiry into the condition of the Christians in the time of Justin; the next a short enumeration of the heresies which he has mentioned; the eighth an examination of the not uninteresting question, whether Justin quoted the Gospels which we now have; and the last, some illustrations of the preceding chapters from the writings of Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus of Antioch, who were contemporaries with Justin, and whose works are appended to his in the Paris edition of 1636.

Of the history of Justin scarcely more is known than that he flourished about the middle of the second century; that he was born at Flavia Neapolis in Samaria, of Gentile parents; and that after having studied the tenets of the different philosophical sects, and attached himself in succession to the Stoics, the Peripatetics, the Pythagoreans, and the Platonists, he finally examined into the Christian religion, which he cordially embraced, and for the sake of which he suffered martyrdom at Rome, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.*

The principal works of Justin, which we now possess, are the two Apologies or Defences of the Christians, and his Dialogues with the Jew Trypho; these, indeed, are the only works, going under the name of Justin, which the Bishop of Lincoln admits as genuine. Of the Hortatory Address to the Greeks, which the generality of critics suppose to be genuine, the learned prelate expresses his doubts. The circumstances which induce him to suspect the spuriousness of this treatise are certainly minute; yet some of them are not without their weight. We should hardly grant that the difference which he has pointed out in the account, given by the author of the Hortatory Address, of the appearance

* Epiphanius, Hær. 46, states that Justin suffered martyrdom under Adrian; but this account, as the Bishop of Lincoln observes, is manifestly erroneous. It is strange that Dodwell should have preferred this authority to that of Eusebius and Tatian.

to Moses from the burning bush, compared with the account given of it in the Dialogue with Trypho, is a sufficient ground for doubting that both the accounts proceeded from the same author. One great object of the Address to the Greeks was to assert the *Unity* of the Godhead; the author, therefore, confined himself to the simple assertion, that it was God who appeared in the bush to Moses: a great object of the Dialogue with Trypho, was to convince that Jew of the *Divinity* of Christ; and, therefore, he takes great pains to show that all the appearances of God to men, recorded in the Old Testament, were made in the person of his Son, who afterwards assumed the human nature, and came into the world as Jesus, the Christ. Now since Justin unquestionably believed that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was himself God, might he not, in each instance, adapt his language to the object which he had in view, and describe the wonder of the burning bush either as the appearance of Christ, or the appearance of God? Neither do we attach much weight to the observation, that the words *κυριολογεῖν* and *θεολογεῖν* are used in their *civil* sense by the author of the Hortatory Address, and in their *ecclesiastical* sense in the Dialogue with Trypho; but there are in the former of these treatises other differences, both of style and sentiment, which the Bishop of Lincoln has pointed out, and which, we conceive, fully justify his hesitation to give it a place among the undoubted writings of Justin. Such are the marked distinctions between *ποιητής* and *δημιουργός* (words which Justin uses indiscriminately); and the different accounts of the origin of polytheism, and of the Septuagint translation. These could hardly have proceeded from the same author. The Hortatory Address, if genuine, would prove almost to demonstration—what the learned prelate has sufficiently proved without it—that however Justin preferred the tenets of Platonism to the opinions entertained by any other sect of Grecian philosophy, he was little disposed to borrow his theological doctrines from Plato. In other respects the treatise is wholly unimportant; as it contains no notices of the existing state of the Church, or of its doctrines, except one rather obscure testimony to the Divinity of Christ.* In his Testimonies of the Ante-nicene Fathers we observe that Dr. Burton has twice quoted, as the work of Justin, the Epistle to Diognetus, and that on one of them he has commented at an unusual length, (pp. 47—53,) from which we infer that, whatever suspicion others may entertain, he admits its genuineness. It is so different in style, and so superior in composition to the acknowledged works of

* 'Ὅς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων λόγος, ἀχώριστος δυνάμει, τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ πλασθέντα ἀναλαβὼν ἀνθρώπων, τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμᾶς προγόνων ἀνέμνησε θεοσεβείας.—p. 36. C.

Justin, that we feel no hesitation in asserting that, however ancient it may be, he has no claim to it.

The writings of Justin are so deficient in method, and so full of rambling digressions, that it is a business of no ordinary difficulty to attempt to give a clear analysis of them. Those who are best acquainted with the works of this author, will acknowledge that the Bishop of Lincoln has executed this part of his task with great success. It might have served to enhance his own sagacity had he dwelt more largely on these defects; but the learned prelate, though by no means blind to them, instead of exposing them to the world with malicious satisfaction, has preferred to imitate the decent reverence of the pious sons of the patriarch, in casting a covering on the nakedness of his father. Notwithstanding, however, all the faults of Justin, which force us to admit that he is not always a perspicuous reasoner, nor the most judicious of Scripture interpreters, enough will still remain to make his writings valued and consulted. His Apologies would be highly interesting, were it only that they serve to show us by what arguments the earlier Christians defended their cause against their adversaries. The Dialogues with Trypho will always be valuable till the prejudices of the Jews are overcome, and they are brought to the acknowledgment of their Messiah in the crucified Jesus. We would, therefore, recommend them to the especial notice of those who, in the present day, are disposed to enter on the Jewish controversy. Though these Dialogues are the earliest treatise extant on this subject, they will find that Justin has anticipated almost every argument of importance to the dispute; and from the opinions *then* entertained respecting the Man of Sin, the Restoration of the Jewish nation, and the Millennial reign of Christ, they may, possibly, be led to the conclusion, that many of the notions, which have lately been advanced on those obscure subjects, are not quite so clearly deduced from Scripture as the authors of them seem to think.

But whatever judgment may be formed of the value of the Dialogues with Trypho in this respect, there can be no doubt that the testimony, which the writings of Justin bear to the opinions held by the Church in his day, respecting many essential points of Christian doctrine, is both interesting and important in a very high degree. His assertion of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of Christ, as the *Logos*, the Reason, or Word of God, is so clear and decisive, that even the Unitarians themselves have not ventured to deny it. They have attempted, however, to evade its force, by maintaining that Justin is the *first* Christian writer in whom these opinions are to be found; and that he derived them neither from Scripture, nor from Apostolical

traditions, but from the philosophical writings of Plato. The falsehood of the first branch of this Unitarian argument any one may see who will consult Dr. Burton's *Testimonies of the Antenicene Fathers*; the groundlessness of the second is most satisfactorily shown by the Bishop of Lincoln in the work before us. "No sufficient proof," as the learned prelate remarks, "has yet been produced that even the germ of these doctrines exists in the writings of Plato;" and Justin is so far from borrowing his opinions, on these subjects, from that philosopher, that he repeatedly asserts that Plato derived from Moses, and the other Jewish prophets, whatever right notions he had acquired respecting the Divine nature. Besides, the manner in which Justin uniformly speaks of the doctrines of the Trinity, and the Godhead of the *Logos*, is a sufficient proof that he was not introducing novel opinions into the Church; for he always mentions them not as the opinions of the few, but as the acknowledged tenets of the whole Christian community. There is a passage, indeed, in the Dialogue with Trypho, from which Dr. Priestley endeavoured to show, that, by Justin's own confession, he was almost singular in asserting these doctrines; and not only singular, but so obstinately bigoted to them, that he was resolved to persist in his own peculiar sentiments, "even though the majority of Christians objected to his opinion."* This version of Dr. Priestley's is neither translation nor paraphrase, but a downright misrepresentation of Justin's meaning. The passage, though various translations have been given of it, appears to us to be attended with no great difficulty. Justin's great object in these Dialogues is to convince Trypho that Jesus is the Messiah, "that he existed, as the Son of the Creator of the Universe before all ages, being God, and that he was born a man of the Virgin."† Trypho tells him that this doctrine appears to him perfectly foolish; that the opinion of those was more worthy of credit who believed that Jesus was born a mere man, and chosen and anointed to the office of Messiah, as all the Jews expected him to be; but, nevertheless, he utterly denies that Jesus is either God, or Christ. To all this Justin replies, that even though he could not prove that Jesus pre-existed as the Son of God, and was himself God, &c., it would by no means follow that he was not the Christ, since there were some of his own nation, who, whilst they believed his mere humanity, still acknowledged him as their Messiah. "For there are *some*," says Justin, "who confess that he is the Christ, though they affirm that he was a man born of men. With whom I do not agree :

* Priestley's *Hist. of Early Opinions*, vol. iii. p. 283.

† Ὅτι καὶ προὔπηχεν υἱὸς τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ἔλων, Θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου.—Dial. c. Tryph. p. 267. C.

neither, indeed, would the *majority*, who are of the same opinion with me, say so.* Here there can be no question that Justin affirms that the doctrine of Christ's mere humanity was held by *few*, in comparison with those who maintained his pre-existence as God. The only question that presents any difficulty is this—Who are these *some*, of whom Justin speaks? We have no doubt that he is speaking of the Ebionites—"those of Jewish race, who," as he had told Trypho just before, "*said* that they believed in him (Jesus) as the Messiah"—Οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἡμετέρου πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν—and, therefore, we have no hesitation in adopting Bishop Bull's reading of ἡμετέρου γένους (*your* race), instead of ἡμετέρου γένους (*our* race), a term never applied by Justin to the Christians, and which hardly could be used, without gross impropriety, to denote a community of persons, who were gathered out of every nation under heaven. It is of some importance to show, against the Unitarian, that, in Justin's age, the majority of the *Jewish* Christians acknowledged the Divinity of Christ; but that those who denied this doctrine constituted but a very small minority, will remain equally certain, whether we suppose him, in this passage, to be speaking of the Jewish Christians in particular, or of the Christian Church in general.

Of the mode in which Justin endeavours to explain the generation of the Divine *Logos*, the Son of God, and his consubstantiality with the Father, we think it needless to enter into a very particular examination; for, to say the truth, we hold that such inquiries into the inscrutable mysteries of the Divine Nature are never very profitable, and not always innocent. Suffice it to say, that he everywhere asserts that Christ was the object of Divine worship in the Church; that, in perfect conformity, as we conceive, with the declaration of the Evangelist, (John, i. 18,) and with that of our Lord himself, (John, v. 37, and vi. 46,) he uniformly maintains, that every manifestation of God to men, recorded in the Old Testament, was made to them in the person of his Son; and that he represents the three persons of the Trinity as equally entitled to that reverence and worship which is due to God only.

There are two passages in the first Apology (the second in the Paris edition) in which this last tenet is expressly asserted. The first of these passages, as the Bishop of Lincoln remarks, has been

* Καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες, ὧ φίλοι, ἔλεγον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου (read, with Bishop Bull, ἡμετέρου) γένους ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν χριστὸν εἶναι, ἀνθρώπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ἀποφατιζόμενοι· οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι· οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι, ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες, εἰποιεν. —Dial. c. Tryph. p. 267. D. Compare Justin's expression here, οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι, with what he says a little before of the Ebionites, whom he describes to Trypho as "those of his race who say that they believe in Jesus as the Christ"—τούτους οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι—"I do not admit these to be Christians."—See *British Critic*, for October, 1827, pp. 288. 290.

alleged by the Roman Catholics to prove, that in the earliest times of the Christian Church worship was paid to angels. He might have gone farther, for the late Dr. Milner, titular bishop of Castabala, alleged it to prove, that in Justin's time worship was paid to the departed saints; and this he did by having recourse to the expedient of translating the words Πνεῦμα τὸ προφητικόν, the Prophetic Spirit—the title which Justin always uses to denote the third person of the Trinity—as if it had been πνεύματα τῶν προφητῶν, “the Spirits of the Prophets”^{*}—a proceeding which leaves us in doubt whether most to marvel at his temerity, or his ignorance. We would seriously ask the Roman Catholics, who are disposed to appeal to this passage of Justin, whether they would desire to prove, that, in *any* age of the Church, the *same* worship was ever given to angels, or saints, as that which is ascribed to the ever-blessed Trinity? If not, Justin is alleged to no purpose. The passage, on many accounts, deserves a careful examination. In its present form it presents almost insuperable difficulties, and we have little doubt that it has suffered a violent dislocation of one of its clauses; but on comparing it with a parallel passage, which occurs four pages afterwards, and with another passage in the Legation of Athenagoras, we are inclined to think that the transposition admits of an easy and satisfactory adjustment. Justin is defending the Christians against the charge of Atheism, which was brought against them because they refused to worship the heathen deities. “With respect,” he says, “to such reputed gods, we confess that we are godless (ἄθεοι). But not so with respect to Him who is the most true God, the Father of Justice and Prudence, and all the other virtues, in whom is no mixture of evil. But Him, and his Son, who came from Him, and taught us these things, [and the host of the other good angels who follow Him and resemble Him,] and the Prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, honouring them rationally and truly.”[†] Some commentators, as Grabe, suppose Justin to have meant, that the Son of God communicated the truths of the Christian revelation not only to *us*, but likewise to the host of good angels; as in Eph. iii. 10. Others, as the Benedictine Le Nourry, and our own Bishop Bull, suppose him to have meant, that the Son of God communicated to us these truths, of which Justin had just been speaking (viz. that the heathen deities were demons, not gods),

^{*} End of Religious Controversy. Letter XXXV.

[†] Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων Θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου, καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμύκτου τε κακίας Θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, [καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν] πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀφ' ὧν παραδιδόντες.—p. 56. B. C.

and also the knowledge of the existence of a host of good angels. The Bishop of Lincoln is disposed to think, "that Justin had in his mind the glorified state of Christ, when he should come to judge the world surrounded by the host of heaven." We are not sure that we understand how he proposes to arrange the passage so as to elicit this sense from it, and to make the words "*and the host of angels*," equivalent to "*with the host of angels*," unless he would bring them immediately into juxtaposition with the words "who came from Him." But then, what becomes of the little clause "who taught us these things?"

After the most attentive consideration of this difficult passage, we are inclined to prefer, to any of the foregoing explanations, the reading which was proposed by Dr. Ashton in his edition of the *Dialogues with Trypho*. He thought that the clause (which we have enclosed in brackets) respecting the host of good angels, had, through the negligence of the transcriber, suffered transposition, and that its right place was between ἀληθεία and τιμῶντες. It would be no hard matter to point out instances of more violent dislocations of sentences, even in modern printed books. If we adopt Dr. Ashton's reading, the passage will stand thus: "Him, and his Son who came from Him, and taught us these things, and the Prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, rationally and truly; honouring, also, the host of the other good angels who follow Him, and resemble Him, and teaching every one who is willing to learn, as we ourselves have been taught." It is not without reason that Justin introduces into this place the mention of the host of the *other good angels*, as the objects of reverence among Christians; for he had just before been speaking of the apostate *evil angels*, whom they regarded with abhorrence, as the authors of idolatry and demon-worship. But that he did not consider them to be entitled to the same worship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—were it possible to entertain a doubt on the subject—is demonstrably certain from a parallel passage in this same *Apology*, where he expressly says, that "we worship Him who is the Creator of this universe, holding in the second place Jesus Christ, our instructor in these things, and whom we believe to be the Son of the true God; and in the third place the Prophetic Spirit:"*—thus in effect asserting, that they, and they only, were then regarded as the objects of Christian worship, and rendering it highly probable, that, in the passage on which we are now commenting, as it proceeded from his pen, the mention of the good angels was not introduced till after the enumeration of

* Τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι . . . τὸν διδάσκαλόν τε τούτων γενόμενον ἡμῖν . . . Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν . . . υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρῃ ἁγία ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει.—p. 60. C.

the persons of the Trinity. This conjecture is rendered still more probable by the following passage in the Legation of Athenagoras, a contemporary of Justin's, in which the same order of enumeration occurs. "Who would not wonder to hear us called Atheists who call God the Father, and the Son God, and the Holy Spirit; showing both their power in unity, and their distinction in order? And our theology is not confined to these; but we say that there is also a multitude of angels and ministering spirits, whom God, the Maker and Creator of the world, has by his own Word distributed and appointed to preside over the elements, and the Heavens, and the world, and all things that are therein, and to preserve them in order."* Both Justin and Athenagoras are engaged in the same task of defending the Christians from the charge of Atheism, and both of them repel the calumny by showing that the Christians worshipped in spirit and in truth those who were entitled to Divine worship, and honoured those who were entitled to honour—next to the Supreme tri-unal God regarding with reverence those blessed spirits who minister to His will, and are inferior in dignity and power to Him alone.

We come next to the consideration of Justin's opinions respecting another very important class of Christian doctrines—Original Sin, the Freedom of the Will, Grace, Justification, and Predestination. On these points, which are discussed by the Bishop of Lincoln in his third chapter, Justin has been no less unfortunate than with regard to his notions concerning the Divinity of the *Logos*, and the doctrine of the Trinity; for if the Unitarians have complained that he borrowed his opinions on these subjects from the writings of Plato, the Calvinist has been just as ready to assert that his notions respecting Grace, and Free-will, &c. were corrupted by a most unscriptural mixture of Grecian philosophy. "Justin," says Milner, "if I mistake not, was the first sincere Christian who was seduced by human philosophy to adulterate the Gospel, though in a small degree . . . In the last page of his *Trypho* there is a phraseology extremely suspicious. He speaks of a self-determining power in man, (*αὐτεξούσιον*.) and uses the same kind of known reasoning on the obscure subject of free-will, as has been fashionable since the days of Arminius. He seems to have been the first of all sincere Christians who introduced this foreign plant

* Τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσῃ λέγοντας θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν θεὸν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, δεικνύοντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐνώσει δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀθέους καλουμένους; καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ θεολογικὸν ἡμῶν ἵσταται μέρος, ἀλλὰ πολλὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν φαμὲν, οὓς ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς κόσμου Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγου δένειμε καὶ διέταξε περὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐταξίαν. Athenag. Legatio pro Christianis, p. 11. A. Justin also asserts that the care of men and of the universe was committed by God to angels. Apol. xi. p. 41. A.

into Christian ground.”* We remember somewhere to have met with the very candid confession, or complaint, of a Calvinistic divine, “*omnes patres ante Pelagium Pelagiani fuere—all the fathers before Pelagius were Pelagians,*”—by which he merely meant, that they were not Calvinists. The assertion, indeed, is manifestly false; but were it true, great would be the presumption that the truth lay with Pelagius rather than with Augustine; and if, on the subject of free-will, the language of *all* the earlier Christian fathers approaches nearer to the opinions of Arminius than to those of Calvin, Justin will be exonerated from the reproach, however softly uttered, of introducing a foreign plant into Christian ground, and the Arminian tendency of his opinions will present no great drawback from his other acknowledged merits.

In reading the works of Justin, with a view to ascertain what were his opinions on these five articles, we ought in all fairness to bear in mind that he is not writing expressly on these subjects, that his sentiments respecting them are only incidentally delivered, and that in his days the Church was happily unencumbered with elaborate systems of theology, and unacquainted with the exact definitions of the Schools. We must not, therefore, weigh his expressions in too nice a balance, nor is it reasonable to expect from a writer so circumstanced that extreme caution and precision which we find in the treatises of modern polemics.

God, according to Justin, created man a rational being, with the power of choosing good and doing right; and from this capacity of choosing between good and evil, he infers that we are accountable creatures, and without excuse before God:† that we, the whole human race, in consequence of Adam's transgression, became subject to death and to the seduction of the serpent, and not merely on account of our own personal offences;‡ and are now, from our birth, addicted to evil habits and wicked customs.§ In unison with this view of man's fallen state, he plainly says, that we stand in need of the grace of God to enlighten our understandings,|| to incline our hearts to him, and to make us a holy priesthood capable of offering to him pure and

* Milner's Church History, vol. i. p. 201.

† Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὸν καὶ δυνάμενον αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ ληθῆ, καὶ εὖ πράττειν, τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πεποιήκειν, ὥστ' ἀναπολόγητον εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. Apol. i. p. 71, B. Compare what he says, p. 58, E. and p. 80, E.

‡ See the dialogue with Trypho, p. 315, D. et seq., where he argues, that Christ was baptized, not because he stood in need of baptism, &c. and then he goes on—ὡς περ οὐδὲ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, ὡς ἐνδεὴς τούτων, ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον, καὶ πλάνην τὴν τοῦ ὄψεως ἐπεπτώκει, παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἐκαστοῦ αὐτῶν πονηρευσαμένου.

§ Ἐν ἔδεισι φαύλους καὶ πονηρεῖς ἀνατροφαῖς γεγόναμεν. Apol. i. p. 94, C.

|| See particularly the following passages in the Dialogue; they are strong and explicit—p. 247, A. 250, C. 280, B. 305, A. 319, B. 326, E. 346, E.

acceptable sacrifices through Jesus Christ.* Bearing this in mind, we can look without the smallest suspicion to his opinion, that man is endued with a free-will (*αὐτεξούσιον*), or, as Mr. Milner calls it, a self-determining power—an opinion not peculiar to Justin, but maintained by every one of the Christian Fathers without exception, even by those who are most explicit on the necessity both of the preventing and assisting grace of God. The truth is, that when they ascribe this free-will to man, this power of choosing between good and evil, they assert it not in the Pelagian sense, as excluding the necessity of God's grace, but in opposition as well to those heretics who held, that men were by *nature* unchangeably good or bad, as to those who taught that men were constrained to act well or ill by inevitable *fate* and invincible *necessity*. That Justin was not “the *first* serious Christian” who maintained in this sense the freedom of the human will—a doctrine so surely grounded on Scripture, that it rather seems strange that any serious Christian should regard it with suspicion—is evident from the following passage of the apostolical Ignatius: “I say not that there are two natures of men, but that one and the same man may at one time be God's, at another the Devil's. If any one live piously, he is a man of God; if he live impiously, he is a man of the Devil, not by nature, but made so by his own will.”† At a later period, in the fourth century, we shall find this doctrine of the freedom of the human will constantly asserted by all the Fathers of the Church; though, at the same time, they invariably maintain, that “the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God;” and that we have no power to do any thing acceptable to God without his preventing and co-operating grace. We hardly know any one who has asserted the doctrine of free-will more strongly than Macarius, particularly in his Fifteenth Homily; and yet he no less unequivocally teaches, that “the soul, which is naked and destitute of the communion of the Spirit, and under the dreadful poverty of sin, is utterly unable, even though it may desire, truly to bring forth the fruits of the spirit of righteousness, before it was made a partaker of the Spirit.”‡ The sole object of Justin and the other Fathers of the

* See Dial. pp. 343, 344. The whole passage is far too long to transcribe; take this specimen—Τὰ ῥηπαρὰ ἱμάτια, τουτέστι τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀπημφισμένοι, πυρωθέντες διὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἐσμὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

† Οὐ δύω φύσεις ἀνθρώπων λεγώ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἓνα ἀνθρώπον, ποτὲ μὲν Θεοῦ, ποτὲ δὲ διαβόλου γίνεσθαι. ἰὰν εὐσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἐστίν· ἰὰν δὲ ἀσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ διαβόλου, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος. Ignat. ad Magnes.

‡ Ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ γυμνὴ καὶ ἔρημος ἀπὸ κοινανίας πνεύματος, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν δεινὴν πτωχείαν τῆς ἁμαρτίας οὖσα, οὐδὲν δύναται, κἂν θέλῃ, τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐξ ἀληθείας ποιεῖσαι, πρὶ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ πνεύματος. Macarius, Homil. xviii. p. 274.

Church, in vindicating the free agency of men, was to convince us that we are accountable beings; not to render us, in our imaginations, independent of God's grace, but to teach us, that we shall be wholly without excuse if we presume to reject it.

On the doctrine of justification, the language of Justin is always scriptural. According to the Bishop of Lincoln,

"He uniformly assigns the merits or death of Christ as the cause, and faith as the medium by which we are justified. By Christ's stripes we are healed; by his stripes all are healed who approach the Father through him; by his blood all who believe on him are purified; the Father willed that he should bear for the whole human race the curses due to all; he endured the servitude even of the cross in behalf of the various races of men, having purchased them by his blood and the mystery of the cross. The names of Helper and Redeemer are applied to Christ: though with an immediate reference to the power of casting out dæmons in his name. With respect to the medium of justification, it is asserted that men are purified by faith through the blood and death of Christ; and that Abraham was not justified by circumcision, but by faith. In order, however, to secure the benefits arising from Christ's death, repentance and a renunciation of our past evil habits are necessary. It has been already observed that Justin, in interpreting Genesis xlix. 10, says that the Holy Spirit calls those, who have received remission of sins through Christ, his garments. We may not find in Justin those nice and subtle distinctions which controversy subsequently introduced into the question of justification; but the substance of the true doctrine is there—that man is justified on account of the merits of Christ through faith, of which faith a holy life is the fruit."—pp. 76—78.

We had intended to illustrate the opinions of Justin in the foregoing doctrines by extracts from Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, and thus to give those of our readers who may be less conversant with their works a complete view of the sentiments of the Christian writers of the second century, from Justin to Tertullian, on these important subjects. But we have forborne, lest we should swell this article to too great a bulk. Their opinions, though always scriptural, are frequently expressed without that caution and limitation which are now considered necessary in treating of these disputed points. For example, when Irenæus says, that "man is justified and brought near to God by good* works," his language is open to misconstruction: but so is that of St. Paul, when he says, that "the doers of the Law are justified before God," (Rom. ii. 13,) and that of St. John, "he that doeth righteousness is righteous," (i. 3. v. 7). They who know how to reconcile these texts with Rom. iii. 28, will find no diffi-

* "Hæc per quæ justificatur homo, et appropinquet Deo, hortatur et admonet." Contra Hæres. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 248.

culty in interpreting in a sound and scriptural sense the *suspicious* passages in the writings of the Fathers.

With respect to the doctrine of Predestination, the opinions of Justin, (and we may add of all the Fathers before the Pelagian controversy,) were undoubtedly what we should now call Arminian. "This only," he says, "is irreversibly predetermined, that they who choose what is good shall be duly rewarded; they who choose what is evil duly punished."* This we know; but God's secret purpose is to us unknown; and therefore instead of speculating about it and dogmatizing upon it—an employment neither wise nor pious—our wisdom is "to receive God's promises in such wise as they be *generally* set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, to follow that will of God which is *expressly* revealed to us in his Word." There are many persons now-a-days, who, though they know as little of the writings of Calvin as they know of those of Augustine, very absurdly call themselves Calvinists, and fancy they hold the doctrine of an irrelative personal election, whilst they reject with abhorrence the doctrine of reprobation. To us these doctrines appear utterly inseparable, even in imagination. What Tertullian said, with reference to a very different matter, must always be true: "The preference of one cannot proceed without the rejection of others; *for there can be no election without reprobation.*"†

In his fourth chapter, the Bishop of Lincoln gives a very full and clear statement of Justin's opinions respecting Baptism, the Eucharist, and the religious observance of the Lord's day. It will be acknowledged that in the present state of the Church, it is a matter of no small importance to ascertain, if possible, what were the opinions and the practice of the earlier Christians, with respect to these, the most essential of all our religious rites and institutions. Strange notions in theology seem to be gaining ground amongst us. With respect to the Sacraments, the faith of our own Church, and of all the Christian Fathers, is branded with the names of novelty and heresy: and with respect to the Lord's day—the *Sabbath*, as it is the fashion to call it—there are persons who, if they should hear you deny that Christians under the Gospel are bound to observe the sabbatical precepts of the Jewish law would at once settle it in their own minds, that you were utterly destitute of religious seriousness. There is a certain journal, called *The Record*, which is professedly conducted by members of the Church of England, and is said to enjoy the

* 'Αλλ' εἰμαρμένῃν φαμέν ἀπαράβατον ταύτην εἶναι, τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἐκλεγμένοις τὰ ἀξία ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως τὰ ἐναντία τὰ ἀξία ἐπίχειρα. Apol. i. p. 81. A.

† "Prelatio alterius sine alterius contumelia non potest procedere, quia nec electio sine reprobatione." Apologet. c. 13. p. 13.

almost exclusive patronage of those churchmen who adhere to the doctrine of Calvin. It may therefore be supposed to speak the sentiments of the majority of that party, and on that account, is not wholly unworthy of notice. In a very elaborate article which appeared lately in its columns (Sept. 29, 1829), the editor pointed out "some characteristics of the Church of the present day, which demand the peculiar attention of its living members." "We cannot but think," he said, "that the manner in which the *detestable heresy of baptismal regeneration* is palliated and glossed over, and even pandered to, by many of those who, in other respects, are justly denominated Evangelical ministers, is an evil of great magnitude, calling loudly for extirpation." In the very next number there appeared an equally laboured defence of these offensive observations. "We at once admit," said the writer, "that there are some passages in the service of the Church which appear to give support to this heresy. . . . Nothing human is perfect; but let not the imperfection of man be permitted to neutralize the immutable truth of God."

It may be said that such remarks as these are totally unworthy of notice. In themselves they certainly are so; but if they express the sentiments of any portion of our clergy—of those especially who profess their adherence to our liturgy and articles in their plain and grammatical sense—they are deserving of some attention. It is one of the worst characteristics of the present state of our Church, that many of her sons should prefer their own crude opinions to her authoritative voice, and deliberately censure the Fathers and Martyrs of our Reformation, the framers of our apostolical liturgy, as men who betrayed the truth of God, and gave their support to a "detestable heresy" and a "vain tradition." Might we venture to suggest to these persons, that such censures, *from them*, are in the highest degree indecorous and offensive; that it is by almost infinite degrees more probable, that they themselves should be mistaken in their apprehension of the subject, than that the venerable Fathers of our Church should, in a point of such vital importance, have so wholly departed from the truth; and consequently, that it would be more prudent and more pious to keep a modest and respectful silence, than by openly proclaiming to the world how little value they set on the authoritative judgment of their Church, to give her enemies too fair an occasion to reproach us with our contempt of order and our want of unity.

Let us now inquire, what were the opinions of the martyr, Justin, respecting the sacrament of Baptism. The principal passage in which Justin expressly mentions the subject, occurs

in his first Apology, (p. 93, E.) and is thus translated by the Bishop of Lincoln.

“ ‘As many,’ he says, ‘as are persuaded and believe that what we teach is true, and undertake to conform their lives to our doctrine, are instructed to fast and pray, and entreat from God the remission of their past sins, we fasting and praying together with them. They are then conducted by us to a place where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For they are then washed in the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.’ Justin then alleges in proof of the necessity of this regeneration, John iii. 3. Isa. i. 16. which he supposes to have been prophetic of Christian baptism; and states that the Apostles had transmitted both the mode of performing the rite and the reason on which the necessity for its observance rested. ‘Since,’ he says, ‘at our first birth we were born without our knowledge or consent—in order that we may not remain the children of necessity and ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water remission of the sins which we have committed, the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe is pronounced over him who wishes to be regenerated, and has repented of his sins, &c.’—pp. 83, 84.

There can be no question here that regeneration is connected with the rite of Baptism, that Justin speaks of persons as regenerated by Baptism, and that he is speaking exclusively of the Baptism of adults; neither do we think there can be any doubt, that in his opinion, the inward and spiritual grace of regeneration was ordinarily imparted in that sacrament. The whole difficulty then relates to the question of infant baptism; for it may very justly be objected, that although adult persons, having in themselves the indispensable pre-requisites of faith and repentance, may in and by Baptism receive this regenerating grace, it by no means follows that infants, who cannot perform these conditions, are made partakers of the same benefit. The objection has been foreseen, and answered in our church catechism; but for the better understanding of the subject, it is necessary that we should first inquire what this figurative term, regeneration, means, and especially in what senses it is used by the writers of the New Testament.

Were we called upon to define the scriptural sense of the word regeneration, we should say that it means in general some great change for the better effected in us by the power and grace of God; and that, in particular, it is applied to three separate things: first, to that happy change which is made in our condition and prospects, when we are admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ, are translated from the power of Satan to the Kingdom of God, are made the children of His adoption, and acquire a covenanted title to all the spiritual blessings promised in the

Gospel to all true believers; 2dly, that it denotes that illumination of the understanding, and purifying of the heart, which is the especial work of the Holy Spirit, and by which we are made "new creatures," and are restored to that image of the Divine knowledge and holiness in which man was first created; and lastly, that it signifies that great and final change which shall be effected in us at the Resurrection, when this mortal nature shall be invested with immortality, and by the working of Christ's almighty power, "our vile bodies shall be made like His glorious body." This is, by our Lord himself, (in Matt. xix. 28,) called "the regeneration," (παλιγγενεσία,) and to this the Apostle alludes, when he says, (1 Pet. i. 3,) that "God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath begotten us again (ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς) unto a lively hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." But of this, as having no immediate reference to Baptism, we have no occasion to speak.

It is in the first sense, with respect to that great change which is made in our condition and prospects, when by our Baptism we obtain remission of our sins, are incorporated into the Church of Christ, obtain a new relation to God, as the children of his adoption and grace, and acquire a covenanted title to all the blessings of the Gospel,—that we understand our Saviour's declaration, (John, iii. 5,) and the language of St. Paul, (Tit. iii. 5,) when he expressly calls Baptism "the laver of regeneration:" and in this sense we hold, that all baptized persons, without exception, infants as well as others, are undoubtedly regenerate. For though the pre-requisites of repentance and faith, which are themselves the initiatory work of God's Spirit in the soul, are indispensably necessary to make the baptized person capable of those larger measures of grace, which are faithfully promised to all worthy receivers of that sacrament, yet even in those cases where it is received in mere hypocrisy and from the most unworthy motives, (as in the instance of Simon Magus) the rite of Baptism is never renewed. The hypocritical recipient of Baptism may, by the just censure of the Church, be cut off from its communion, and may be restored to it again on the public profession of his repentance and faith in Christ; but having been once enrolled in the number of Christ's followers, and sealed and marked as his servant and soldier, deserter and apostate though he be, when he returns to his allegiance, he is admitted again into the ranks, without any renewal of the baptismal ceremony, or any repetition of his baptismal vows; and thenceforth, provided his professions are sincere, acquires a full interest in all the promises which are assured to us by Christ in that sacrament. In this sense, and not in that which the Church of Rome has attached to the terms,

Baptism is called the "seal" (σφραγίς), or the mark (χαρακτήρ); not that any spiritual impress or character is thus indelibly stamped upon the soul, but that the baptized person is, once for all, marked and set apart as the servant of Christ. To this there seems to be an allusion, Gal. vi. 17, as there clearly is in the Apocalypse, vii. 3, where the angel "seals the servants of God in their foreheads." Thus, in our own baptismal office, the minister says, "we receive this person into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world and the devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end:" and thus Chrysostome interprets the matter; "as soldiers have a certain mark (σφραγίς) set upon them, so are the faithful marked by the Spirit; that if you quit the ranks, you may be distinguishable by all. For the Jews had the mark of circumcision, but we the earnest of the Spirit."* Throughout our baptismal offices, the spiritual regeneration therein mentioned is always accompanied with other exegetical expressions, which limit its signification to that new relationship which we acquire with respect to God on our admission into the Church of Christ;† and it would not be easy to show that any theologian of note, (even among the Roman Catholics, who maintain that in baptism a certain spiritual character is impressed on the soul,) has ever simply confounded baptismal regeneration with that regenerating power of the Holy Spirit, by which we are enlightened, renewed, and sanctified, and so become new creatures in Christ. It is, therefore, a matter of no small patience, to hear some pert neophyte dogmatize on the subject of regeneration, limit the meaning of the term exclusively to the internal operation and renewing agency of the Spirit, and then, in the sublimity of his presumptuous ignorance, unhesitatingly condemn the framers of our reformed liturgy, as the authors and abettors of a detestable heresy.

But it may be said, if baptismal regeneration mean nothing more than our being admitted into the Church of Christ, and made the children of God's adoption and grace; though, in respect of the great and beneficial change in our condition, it may

* Καθάπερ στρατιώταις σφραγίς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπιτίθεται καὶ λειψοτακτικῆς, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους γένει πᾶσιν. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ εἶχον σφραγίδα τὴν περιτομὴν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος.—Chrysost. Homil. iii. in 2 Cor.

† Thus, for example, in the prayer for the newly-baptized person; "We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this person by thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy Holy Church:" and in the Catechism, where the spiritual grace of baptism is defined to be "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness," the reason why it is called a new birth is immediately added, "for being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are thereby made the children of grace."

well be called regeneration, yet why it should be said that baptized persons are regenerated by the Spirit, is not so easy to perceive. Simply for this reason, that the whole Church of Christ is under the superintendence of the Spirit, and all its ministrations are purely spiritual; upon which account those likewise who are ordained to the priestly office are said to receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God; not that any one is so absurd as to suppose that, to the persons so ordained, are imparted the gifts of supernatural inspiration, but only that they receive a divine commission to exercise the spiritual functions of their office.

In the account which we have given of the *general* nature and effect of baptismal regeneration, we are fully aware that to many persons we shall appear to have confined it within too narrow limits, and to have reduced the spiritual grace of that sacrament too low. We are aware that many passages of Scripture may be quoted, in which baptized persons are spoken of, as being "renewed in the spirit of their minds," and "sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise;" that the Christian Fathers, in strict conformity with Scripture, and with their own experience, speak of such persons as illuminated (*φωτισόμενοι*), describing in the loftiest terms the wonderful change produced, through the efficacy of that sacrament, in the understanding, the will, and the affections; and that these emphatic expressions cannot, without great violence and injury, be so interpreted, as to make them denote nothing more than that beneficial change, which is wrought in our condition and prospects, when we are received by Baptism into the fold of Christ's Church. We are by no means disposed to deny that in the times of the Apostles, and in the earlier ages of the Church, the generality of baptized persons were in fact forthwith enlightened, renovated, and sanctified, that they received at once the largest supplies of spiritual grace, and were made, in the language of St. Paul, new creatures. But then it must not be forgotten that these were cases of adult baptism. Of infant baptism there is not a trace in Scripture. To say that in our Saviour's command to baptize all nations, and the Apostles' custom to baptize entire households, infants are necessarily included, is to beg the question too palpably. The practice is best defended by the analogy of circumcision and the uninterrupted tradition of the Church. But though, on the ground of this tradition, we doubt not that the custom of baptizing infants is of apostolical origin, and prevailed in the second century, yet when Justin tells us, "this laver (of baptism) is called illumination, because the minds of those who have learnt these things (the great truths of the

Christian religion) are enlightened,"* and when he speaks in the same passage of the candidate for Baptism "repenting of his sins" and "choosing to be regenerated" (ἐλπομένων ἀναγεννηθῆναι), we are sure that language such as this never was applied to infants; but that Baptism was so called, either with reference to that preparatory course of instruction by which the minds of the catechumens were enlightened, or because Baptism is to those who worthily receive it, the entrance into a state of spiritual light and knowledge, in which the true Christian continually "goes on towards perfection." To multiply passages in support of this opinion would be a mere waste of our own time and our reader's patience; we shall therefore content ourselves with adducing one example from the *Pædagogus* of Clement of Alexandria. "When we were regenerated," he says, "we received at once that perfection which we earnestly desired, for we were enlightened, that is to say, were brought to the knowledge of God." He then gives an account of the baptism of Christ, of whom he says, that "he was perfected by Baptism only, and sanctified by the descent of the Spirit;" to which he immediately adds, "the very same thing happens with respect to us, of whom the Lord was made a pattern. Being baptized, we are illuminated; being illuminated we are made sons; being made sons we are perfected; being perfected we are made immortal. 'I have said ye are gods, and all sons of the Most High.' This work is called by many names, Grace, Illumination, Perfection, the Laver. It is called the Laver, because by it we wash away the defilement of our sins; Grace, because by it the punishment of our sins is remitted; Illumination, because by it that holy and saving light is discerned, that is to say, by it we clearly behold the Deity; and we call that Perfection to which nothing is wanting. We alone, on our first beginning to approach the confines of life, are already perfect."† In this passage the learned reader will discern a plain allusion to the language employed in the celebration of the higher Eleusinian mysteries; and no one, we suppose, will contend that such a change, as is here implied, takes place in the mind and under-

* Apol. i. p. 94, D.

† Ἀναγεννηθέντες γοῦν εὐδείως τὸ τέλειον ἀπειλήφαμεν, οὗ ἔνεκεν ἐσπεύδομεν. ἐφωτίσθημεν γάρ: τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιγινῶναι τὸν Θεόν. . . τελειοῦται δὲ τῷ λουτρῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τῇ καθάρσει ἀγιάζεται. . . τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ὡν γέγονεν ὑπογραφή ὁ κύριος· βαπτίζομενοι, φωτίζομεθα· φωτίζομενοι, υἱοποιούμεθα· υἱοποιούμενοι τελειούμεθα· τελειούμενοι, ἀπαθανατίζομεθα. Ἐγὼ, φησὶν, εἶπα, θεοὶ ἐστε, καὶ υἱοὶ υἰσίου πάντες. καλεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο χάρισμα, καὶ φῶτισμα, καὶ τέλειον, καὶ λουτρὸν. λουτρὸν μὲν, δι' οὗ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀπορρυσπόμεθα· χάρισμα δὲ, ὅτι τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐπιτίμια ἀνείτῃ· φῶτισμα δὲ, δι' οὗ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκείνο φῶς τὸ σωτήριον ἐσσωπτεύεται, τοῦτέστιν δι' οὗ τὸ θεῖον ἔξυωποῦμεν· τέλειον δὲ, τὸ ἀπροσδεὲς φαμέν. . . μόνῳ δὲ ἅρα οἱ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι τῶν ἔργων τῆς ζωῆς, ἥδε τέλειον.—*Pædag. lib. i. c. 6. pp. 113, 114.* Edit. Oxon. Compare with this the passage in Cyprian's epistle to Donatus (the first in the Oxford edition) beginning "Ego cum in tenebris atque in nocte cæcæ jacerem."

standing of baptized infants. The term regeneration, as connected with baptism, and applied to *them*, must therefore be restricted to its first sense, as denoting the new relation which they acquire towards God through Christ, as children of his adoption and grace, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.

With respect to the Eucharist, the language of Justin presents a greater difficulty; for his expressions, concerning the consecrated elements, if they are strictly taken, can neither be reconciled with the tenets of our own Church, nor with those of the church of Rome. It was then the custom, as we learn from him, to bring the newly initiated convert into the Church, that he might have the benefit of the united prayers of his fellow Christians, and might communicate with them in the holy Eucharist; another proof, be it observed, if proof were wanting, that in the preceding passage he is speaking exclusively of adult baptism. We again make use of the Bishop of Lincoln's translation.

“After we have thus washed *him* who has expressed his conviction and assented to our doctrines, we take him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled; in order that we may offer up prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized person, and for all others in every place, that having learned the truth we may be deemed worthy to be found walking in good works and keeping the commandments, so that we may attain to eternal salvation. Having ended our prayers we salute each other with a kiss. Bread is then brought to that brother who presides, and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; and employs some time in offering up thanks to him for having deemed us worthy of these gifts. The prayers and thanksgivings being ended, all the people present express their assent by saying, Amen; which, in the Hebrew tongue, answers to *γένοιτο* in the Greek. The president having given thanks, and the people having expressed their assent, they who are called by us Deacons give to each of those present a portion of the bread and of the wine mixed with water, over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and carry away a portion to those who are absent. And this food is called among us *εὐχαριστία*: of which no one is allowed to partake who does not believe that what we teach is true, and has not been washed with the laver (of baptism) for the remission of sins and unto regeneration, and does not live as Christ has enjoined. For we do not receive it as common bread, and common drink; but in the same manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh through the word of God, hath both flesh and blood for our salvation; so we are also taught that the food over which thanksgiving has been pronounced by the prayer of the word which came from him, by which food, undergoing the necessary change, our flesh and blood are nourished, we are taught, I say, that this food is the flesh and blood of the Incarnate Jesus. For the Apostles, in the memoirs

composed by them, which are called Gospels, have declared that Jesus gave him this injunction—that having taken bread and given thanks, he said, *Do this in remembrance of me, this is my body*; and that in like manner having taken the cup and given thanks, he said, *This is my blood*; and that he distributed the bread and wine to them alone.”—pp. 85—87.

In this account of the celebration of the Eucharist there are several points deserving of notice. We learn from this passage, compared with what he says a little afterwards respecting the religious observances of Sunday, that, in Justin's time, the public prayers of the Church were always concluded with the administration of the Lord's Supper; that water was always mixed with the eucharistic wine, as it still is both in the Greek and Latin Church, and always was in every church under heaven till the period of the Reformation:* that the deacons conveyed a portion of the consecrated food to those who were absent; that none were allowed to partake of this communion except baptized believers, who lived as Christ enjoined; and, lastly, that the eucharistic elements were believed to be the flesh and blood of the Incarnate Son of God.

The Fathers, however, are to be understood in a figurative sense, when they speak of the bread and wine in the Eucharist as the body and blood of Christ. Happily they have not left this point doubtful. The language of Justin, when he says, that “in the same manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh through the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation; so we are also taught, that the food over which thanksgiving has been pronounced by the prayer of the word which came from him . . . is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus”—this language is evidently not meant for a close and exact comparison,

* Cyprian contends, that the mixture of water with the wine is indispensable; that without it the sacrament is destroyed. “*Aquas namque populos significare, in Apocalypsi scriptura divina declarat, &c. Quod scilicet perspicimus et in sacramento calicis contineri. Nam quia nos omnes portabat Christus, qui et peccata nostra portabat, videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino verò ostendi sanguinem Christi. Quando autem in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur, et credentium plebs ei in quem credidit copulatur et conjungitur. Quæ copulatio et conjunctio aquæ et vini sic miscetur in calice Domini, ut commixtio illa non possit ab invicem separari. In sanctificando calice Domini, offerri aqua sola non potest, quomodo nec vinum solùm potest; nam si vinum tantùm quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis: si verò aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo: quando autem utrumque miscetur, et adunatione confusa sibi invicem copulatur, tunc sacramentum spiritale et cæleste perficitur.*”—*Epist. lxi.* pp. 153, 154. N. B. According to Cyprian, the people, represented by the water, were in the eucharistic cup, in the very same sense as Christ, represented by the wine, was in the cup; *i. e.* figuratively. He finds the very same mystery in the bread, into the composition of which water enters; and maintains, that it is just as great a perversion of the Eucharist to offer wine without water, as meal without water, instead of bread. He concludes the Epistle with a strong exhortation to Cæcilian “in Dominico calice *miscendo* et offerendo, custodire traditionis Dominicæ veritatem.”

but is a very loose and general illustration of the sacramental change, in virtue of which the eucharistic elements are the body and blood of Christ, and are no longer received as common bread and common drink. Justin's meaning may be illustrated by a passage in the fourth book of his contemporary Irenæus;—he is arguing against both the Jews and heretics, that they could not offer to God an acceptable sacrifice—the Jews, because their hands were full of blood, and they received not the Word, by whom the offering is made to God; the heretics, because they denied both the Father and the Son—"for how," he reasons, "can they believe that the bread over which thanksgivings are offered is the body of their Lord, and the cup the cup of his blood, if they do not confess that he is the Son of the Creator of the world, that is to say, His Word, by whom the tree produces its fruit, the fountains flow, and the earth brings forth the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear."* He then proceeds to ask, "how they can presume to deny, that that flesh which is nourished by the body and blood of Christ is capable of immortality;" and argues that the Eucharist itself confirms the doctrine of the resurrection—"For as that bread which is from the earth, when it has received the invocation of God, is no longer *common* bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly; so also our bodies, when they have received the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, but have the hope of an eternal resurrection."† Between this passage and that of Justin there are many points of close resemblance. In both, it will be remarked, that the sacramental bread, after consecration, is said to be no longer *common* bread. If they had held the doctrine of Transubstantiation, must they not have said, it was no longer bread? They never suspected that the substance of the bread did not remain, even though they believed that it was made the body of Christ. Their language, take it how you will, can hardly be reconciled with the modern tenet of the church of Rome, but taken literally, tallies very closely with the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation. That it is not so to be taken may, however, be clearly proved by comparing it with the more explicit declarations of other Fathers of the second century, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian.

* "Quomodo autem constabit eis, cum panem in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, corpus esse Domini sui, et calicem sanguinis ejus, si non ipsum fabricatoris mundi Filium dicunt, id est, Verbum ejus, per quod lignum fructificat," &c. Contra Hær. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 251.

† Πῶς τὴν σάρκα λέγουσιν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τρεφομένην; ὥς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ, οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μὴκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. Id. § 5.

The first of these Fathers had such a strong propensity for detecting mysteries and hidden meanings in every passage of Scripture, that if any thing like the doctrine of Transubstantiation had been broached in his day, we may be quite certain that he would have delighted to expatiate on it, and that it would have met us, in some shape or other, in almost every page of his writings. But it so happens, that in nearly every instance where he has occasion to speak of the mystery of the Eucharist, he has taken care to tell us, that it is called the body and blood of Christ only in an allegorical and spiritual sense. For example, in the fifth chapter of the first book of his *Pedagogue*, in his attempts to explain away the obvious meaning of 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2, which interfered with the point which he had in hand, (to show that sincere Christians are always represented in Scripture as babes, or children) he says, that γάλα, *milk*, may mean the preaching of the Gospel, and βρῶμα, *meat*, faith, which is more than hearing; (for the text, as he says, p. 118, is not to be interpreted after the Jewish manner, *i. e.* literally, but figuratively—) and then he proceeds, “Our Lord in another place, in the Gospel of St. John, has delivered this doctrine in another manner, by *symbols*; saying, ‘Eat my flesh, and drink my blood;’ evidently speaking *allegorically* of the drink of faith and of the promise.”* There is a passage in the second book very similar to this, where in arguing against the Eucratites, who used water only in the celebration of the Eucharist, he tells them, that Christ “as certainly partook of wine” (in instituting this rite) “as he partook of our human nature. For he blessed the wine, saying, ‘Take, drink; this is my blood, the blood of the vine:’ *allegorically* representing by that holy juice of gladness, the Word, which was shed for many for the remission of sins.”† Again, in the fifth book of the *Stromata*, he interprets the above text of St. Paul in the same figurative manner: “If the Apostle,” he says, “calls milk the food of children, and meat that of perfect men, milk must be understood to signify that catechetical instruction which is the first nurture of the soul; and meat, the epoptic contemplation—the very flesh and blood of the Word—that is, the comprehension of the Divine power and essence. . . . Thus he imparts of himself to those who *spiritually* partake of this food. . . . For the meat and drink of the Divine

* Ἀλλὰ χάρις δὲ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ κατ’ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐτέρως ἐξίνεργεν διὰ συμβόλων φάγεσθαι μου τὰς σάρκας, εἰπὼν, καὶ πῖεσθαι μου τὸ αἶμα· ἑναργὲς τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ πώτιμον ἀλληγορῶν.—*Pedag.* lib. i. c. 6, p. 121.

† Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, μετέλαβεν οἶνου καὶ αὐτός, καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρωπος καὶ αὐτός, καὶ εὐλόγησεν γὰρ τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν, λάβετε, πῖετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ αἶμα, αἶμα τῆς αμώελου τοῦ Λόγου, τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον εἰς ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης ἅγιον ἀλληγορεῖ νάμα.—*Lib.* ii. c. 2. p. 186.

Word is the knowledge of the Divine Essence.”* It would be no very easy matter to reconcile these opinions of Clement with the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and, we repeat, that if he could have found any support, however slight, for such a mystery, in the practice of the Church, in the words of Scripture, or in the arcana of his master Pantænus, we should have found him expatiating upon it with peculiar satisfaction, whenever he had occasion to make mention of the Eucharist.

The language of Tertullian is still more explicit, and it is always the same. He never leaves room to doubt in what sense he calls the bread and wine in the Eucharist the body and blood of Christ. Thus, in his treatise *De Oratione*, which is a commentary on the Lord's prayer, in that clause, “Give us this day our daily bread,” he remarks, that though it may be taken literally “we may rather understand it in a spiritual sense. For Christ is our bread, because Christ is life, and bread is life. ‘I,’ says he, ‘am the bread of life:’ and a little above, ‘The bread is the Word of the living God, which came down from heaven.’ And also because in the bread his body (*censetur*) is considered: ‘This is my body.’ In asking, therefore, for our daily bread, we pray for a perpetual and inseparable union with the body of Christ.”† Again, in his treatise *Adversus Judæos*, in enumerating the prophecies which foretold the crucifixion of Christ, he quotes Jer. xi. 19, almost in the very words of the Latin Vulgate, *Venite, mittamus in panem ejus lignum*, &c., of which prophecy “Christ,” he says, “has revealed the meaning, calling bread his body, as the prophet before had *figuratively* called his body, bread.”‡ In the tract *De Resurrectione Carnis* (c. viii. p. 330) he says, that in the Eucharist our “*flesh* is fed with the body and blood of Christ, as our souls are nourished by God:”§ and again, (c. xxxv.) in a comment on John vi., which is too long to quote in full, he says, “Christ, therefore, having affirmed that it was the Word that

* Εἰ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν γάλα τῶν νηπίων, τὸ βρῶμα δὲ τῶν τελείων τροφή πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἴρηται, γάλα μὲν ἡ κατήχησις, οἰνοὶ πρῶτη ψυχῆς τροφή, νοηθῆσεται· βρῶμα δὲ, ἡ ἐσωπτική θεωρία σάφους αὐταὶ καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Λόγου, τουτέστι, κατάληψις τῆς θείας δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας. . . . οὕτως γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ μεταδίδωσι τοῖς πνευματικώτερον τῆς τοιαύτης μεταλαμβάνουσι βρώσεως. . . . βρώσις γὰρ καὶ πόσις τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου, ἡ γινώσις ἐστὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας.—*Sirrom*. v. c. 10. pp. 685, 686.

† “Quamquam ‘Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie,’ spiritualiter potius intelligamus. Christus enim panis noster est; quia vita Christus, et vita panis. Ego sum, inquit, panis vitæ. Et paulò supra: Panis est sermo Dei vivi, qui descendit de cælis. Tum quod et corpus ejus in pane censetur: Hoc est corpus meum. Itaque petendo panem quotidianum, perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo, et individuitatem à corpore ejus.”—*De Orat.* c. vi. pp. 131, 132.

‡ “Sic enim Christus revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans, ejus retro corpus in panem Prophetes figuravit.”—*Adv. Jud.* xi. p. 196.

§ “Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur.”—*De Resurrectione Carnis*, c. viii. p. 330, B.

gave life, because the Word is spirit and life, called the same Word his flesh; for the Word was made flesh; and it is therefore earnestly to be desired for the sake of life, to be *devoured by hearing, and ruminated by the understanding, and digested by faith.*"* In the first book against Marcion, Christ, he says, most highly honoured the works of the Creator (whom that heretic blasphemed) by making use of them in his own sacraments; "for he did not reject the water of the Creator, in which he washes his disciples; nor the oil, with which he anoints them; nor the union of honey and milk, with which he nurses them; nor the bread, by which he *represents* his own body."† In the third book, referring, as in his tract against the Jews, to Jer. xi. 19, he tells Marcion, "Even in *your* gospel God has revealed what he here means by bread, calling it his body; so that from hence you may understand that he has applied *the figure* of his body to bread," &c.‡ And in the fourth book, still more explicitly, he says, that the eucharistic bread was a figure of our Lord's body just as the paschal lamb was a figure of Him. It is Tertullian's object, in this book, to prove against Marcion, that Christ was sent forth from the Creator, the God of Israel; and this point he establishes by showing, that the prophecies and types of the Old Testament were exactly fulfilled in his person. Amongst other proofs he mentions the Passover, by which, he says, "the law prefigured his passion," and which Christ himself earnestly desired to celebrate, before he was led forth as a lamb to the slaughter, and thus fulfilled "that figure of his salvific blood." In the very same sense, Christ, he proceeds to argue, "made that bread which he took, and distributed to the disciples, to be his body, saying, 'This is my body,' that is, a figure of my body."§

* "Itaque sermonem constituens vivificatorem, quia spiritus et vita sermo, eundem etiam carnem suam dixit; quia et sermo caro erat factus; proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus."—De Res. Carn. xxxvii. p. 347, C.

† "Sed ille quidem usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris, qua suos abluit; nec oleum, quo suos ungit; nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat; nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum representat; etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus Creatoris."—c. xiv. p. 372, B.

‡ "Hoc lignum et Hieremias tibi insinuat, dicturis prædicans Judæis, Venite, mittamus lignum in panem ejus, utique in corpus. Sic enim Deus in evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans, ut et hinc jam intelligas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse, cujus retro corpus in panem Prophetes figuravit, ipso Domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo."—c. xix. p. 408, C.

§ "O legis destructorem, qui concupierat etiam Pascha servare! Nimirum vervecina illum Judaica delectaret? An ipse erat, qui tanquam victimam adduci habens, et tanquam ovīs coram tonante sic os non aperturus, figuram sanguinis sui salutaris implere concupiscebat? . . . Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere Pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus) acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit; hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei."—c. xl. p. 457, D.

These passages, which are clear and unequivocal, may suffice to show, that the Christians of the second century plainly understood, that Christ spoke allegorically and figuratively, when he called the bread and wine in the Eucharist, His body, and His blood. To those who wish to carry the inquiry farther we would recommend Bishop Morton's treatise *De Eucharistia*. In the whole range of polemical theology we should find it difficult to mention any other work of which the whole argument is so complete, so convincing, so unanswerable. No person, on either side of the question, should attempt to enter on this branch of the controversy between the Reformed Churches and the Church of Rome, without very carefully studying this work of Bishop Morton's; and we are disposed to think, that he who should take the pains to translate this treatise into English, for the benefit of those who are less learned, would, perhaps, render a greater service to the cause of truth than he could hope to effect by any original lucubrations of his own.

In what manner Sunday, or the Lord's Day, was observed by the Christians of the second century, is an inquiry of no little interest. The scanty notices of this subject to be collected from their writings induce a suspicion, that the religious celebration of this day was regarded by them, as resting rather on ecclesiastical tradition than on any Divine precept. They seem to have been utterly strangers to the opinion, that the observances of the Jewish Sabbath were transferred in the Christian church to the first day of the week, either by Divine authority, or Apostolical practice; though, at the same time, it is evident that, even from the Apostles' days, this day was kept with peculiar sanctity and honour, as a day holy to the Lord, in commemoration of the work of creation, which he began thereon, as well as of his resurrection from the dead. The account which Justin gives of the religious observance of Sunday, as he calls it, is thus translated by the Bishop of Lincoln.

“ On the day called Sunday, there is an assembling together of all who dwell in the cities and country; and the Memoirs of the Apostles and the Writings of the Prophets are read as long as circumstances permit. Then, when the reader has ceased, the president delivers a discourse, in which he admonishes and exhorts (all present) to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray; and as we before said, prayer being ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president offers prayers in like manner and thanksgivings, according to his ability; and the people express their assent by saying Amen; and the distribution of that, over which the thanksgiving has been pronounced, takes place to each, and each partakes, and a portion is sent to the absent by the Deacons. And they

who are wealthy, and choose, give as much as they respectively deem fit; and whatever is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need. But we meet together on Sunday because it is the first day, in which God, having wrought the necessary change in darkness and matter, made the world: and on this day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. For he was crucified on the day before that of Saturn; and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, having appeared to the apostles and disciples, he taught them the things which we now submit to your consideration."—pp. 88, 89.

"We learn" (says the learned prelate) "moreover from the passage above recited, that on the first day of the week, or as Justin styles it, the *day of the Sun, the brethren met together for the purposes of religious worship; and he assigns as the reason for the selection of that particular day, that on it God began the work of Creation, and Christ rose from the dead. So long as the converts to the Gospel were principally of Jewish origin, it is reasonable to suppose that, as they attended the service of the Temple, and frequented the Jewish synagogues, so they kept the Jewish Sabbath; holding, however, meetings for religious worship on the first day of the week, in commemoration of Christ's resurrection from the dead. The admission of the Gentiles into the Church was quickly followed by the controversy respecting the necessity of observing the Mosaic ritual—a controversy carried on, as we collect from the writings of the New Testament, with great bitterness; one consequence of which was, that the converts, whether Jew or Gentile, who believed that the injunctions of the ceremonial law were no longer obligatory, soon ceased to observe the Sabbath; some even went the length, as Justin informs us, of attaching criminality to the observance, as bespeaking a species of return from Christianity to Judaism. Bearing, however, in mind that one reason assigned by Moses for the sanctification of the Sabbath was, that on

* "The reader will observe that Justin calls the first day of the week *ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα*, and the last *ἡ κρονική*. Dion Cassius, in *Pompeio*, c. 6, says that the Romans derived the practice of assigning the names of the planets to different days from the Egyptians, and that it had become in a certain degree national among them, *καὶ ἕδη καὶ τοῦτο σφίσι πάτριον τρόπον τινὰ ἔστιν*. Whether the Egyptians, having received the computation of time by weeks from the Jews, applied the names of the seven heavenly bodies, then known to be immediately connected with our system, to the days of the week; or whether their observation of the heavenly bodies first led them to compute time by periods of seven days, may be doubtful; but it appears certain that the computation was made subservient to the purposes of astrology. Dion has recorded two explanations of the manner in which the names of the heavenly bodies came to be assigned to the different days. The early Christians, if of Jewish extraction, retained, if of Gentile, adopted the Scriptural computation by weeks; and finding the astronomical or astrological names of the days of the week generally received throughout the Roman Empire, in their Apologies addressed to the heathen naturally used those names. Selden, in the 13th and following Chapters of the third Book of his work, *De Jure Naturali*, &c. which we recommend to the careful perusal of those, who, whatever be the side they espouse, shall hereafter engage in the controversy respecting the institution of the Sabbath, collected all that can be found on this not uninteresting subject."—pp. 91, 95.

the seventh day God rested from the work of creation, they added to the original reason for observing the first day of the week—the commemoration of Christ's resurrection—another, that on that day God commenced the work of creation. Thus far, and thus far only, can it in my opinion be truly said, that the Lord's Day was substituted in the place of the Jewish Sabbath: at first it was observed in conjunction with the Sabbath, and with a reference only to the resurrection."—pp. 94—97.

If to the above account of Justin's we add from Tertullian, that Sunday was dedicated to joy—that it was observed as a day of festivity,"* we shall have collected all the information on the subject which the Fathers of the second century afford. Their writings supply not the slightest intimation that the Lord's day was observed by them, in obedience to any positive divine precept enjoining it; or that the observance of the seventh day, or of one day in seven, was enjoined to our first parents, and through them to all mankind; or that the sabbatical constitutions of the Mosaic law were of any force at all in the Christian church; but they furnish abundant proofs of their opinion that the institution of the Sabbath was given to the Jews only; that it was not observed by the Patriarchs before the Law; that it was utterly abrogated, together with the other ceremonial appointments of the Law, by the introduction of a newer and better covenant; and that the observance of it indicated a reprehensible desire of returning from Christianity to Judaism.

Those who maintain the perpetual obligation of the Sabbath contend, that when God had completed the work of his creation, he blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, and appointed it to be kept as a day of holy rest by Adam and all his posterity; and they say, that in the command, "*Remember* the Sabbath-day to keep it holy,"† there is a clear reference to the original institution in Gen. ii. 3. The whole of this argument proceeds on mere gratuitous assumption, and has no support from Scripture. That God blessed that day on which he rested from the labour of creation is certain—he made it, if we may so speak, a festival in heaven, "when the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy;"‡ but that he appointed every succeeding seventh day to be observed thenceforth by Adam and his descendants, can neither be proved from Scripture, nor gathered from it in the way of probable inference; for there is not in

* "*Æque si diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus,*" &c.—*Apologet.* xvi. p. 16, B. "*Alii plane, humanius, Solem Christianum Deum æstimant, quod innotuerit ad orientis partem facere nos precationem, vel die Solis lætitiæ curare.*"—*Ad Nat.* c. xiii. p. 50, A. "*Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare.*"—*De Corona,* c. iii. p. 102, A.

† *Exod.* xx. 8.

‡ *Job,* xxxviii. 7.

Scripture the faintest hint, that the Sabbath was observed by Adam, or Abel, or Seth, or Enoch, or Noah, or Melchizedek, or Abraham, or any saint or patriarch from the creation to the Exodus. But, we are told, it is implied in the Sinaitic precept, "Remember the Sabbath-day," that an injunction to keep the Sabbath holy had been already given prior to the delivery of this commandment; and it is quietly taken for granted, that this prior injunction is, in some way or other, comprised in the simple enunciation of the fact, that God, having finished the creation in six days, "blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made." To this it would be a sufficient answer, that the emphatic word "*Remember*" might be intended only to draw attention more strongly to the fourth commandment, which is acknowledged by the Jews to be the most important of all the precepts of their Law. But, in truth, the injunction to observe the Sabbath was given to the Israelites before the delivery of the Law from Sinai. The statute and the ordinance which God made for them in Marah,* were, according to the most ancient and universal tradition of the Jews, the two precepts, to keep holy the Sabbath and to honour their parents; in the repetition of the Decalogue, which is given by Moses in the book of Deuteronomy, these two precepts, and these only, are therefore enforced by the additional injunction—"Keep the Sabbath-day, honour thy father and thy mother; *as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee.*"† The fact that the observance of the Sabbath was appointed to the Israelites before they came to Sinai, rests not, however, on any rabbinical tradition, but is plainly asserted by Moses himself, who tells us,‡ that when the people "came unto the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai," the Lord rained down bread for them from heaven, giving them day by day a supply sufficient for their daily sustenance, but on the sixth day a double portion. When the rulers of the congregation reported this remarkable occurrence to Moses, he informed them, that God had given them this double measure in order to enable them to keep the morrow, as a holy Sabbath, as the Lord had enjoined them; and though the manna which fell on other days could not be reserved till the following morning, he bade them lay by a portion of what they gathered on the sixth day for their sustenance on the seventh, with an assurance, that as no manna would fall on the Sabbath, the portion kept for that day should be sweet and fit for food; and when some of the people, still unbelieving, went out on the seventh day, as usual, to gather, "the Lord said unto Moses, How

* Exod. xv. 25.

† Deut. v. 12. 16.

‡ Exod. xvi. 22—30.

long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws? See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days: abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day. So the people rested on the seventh day."

From this plain narrative it appears, that the Sabbath was given to the Israelites (and given to them for the first time, as an institution with which they were wholly unacquainted) whilst they were encamped in the station between Elim and Sinai; and in the circumstances of the story we may discover a very sufficient reason why the emphatic word *remember* was prefixed to the fourth commandment of the Decalogue. The Jews, who, in this respect at least, may be admitted to be the best interpreters of their own law, uniformly maintained that the Sabbath, like circumcision, was given exclusively to them, as the sign* of the covenant which God had made with them; that it belonged in no sense to the Gentiles; and that it was not lawful even for the proselytes of the gate to observe it. When that covenant, of which the Sabbath was a sign, was abrogated, the Sabbath itself was of course abrogated with it. This is confessed; but it is said that the observance of the seventh-day sabbath, is transferred in the Christian Church to the first day of the week. We ask, by what authority? and are much mistaken, if an examination of all the texts in the New Testament, in which the first day of the week, or the Lord's day, is mentioned, does not prove that there is no divine or apostolical precept enjoining its observance, nor any *certain* evidence from Scripture that it was in fact so observed in the time of the Apostles.

With respect to the Jewish Sabbath, the conduct of our Lord, who, be it remembered, was born under the Law, was very remarkable. We learn from many passages in the Gospels, that "it was his custom" to frequent the public worship of the Synagogue on the Sabbath days; but, in all other instances, he appears to have treated the scrupulous observance of the Sabbatical laws with studied disrespect. The diseases which he miraculously cured were all chronic; but he encouraged the sick to come to him to be healed on the Sabbath, though they might just as well have waited till the morrow; and if they lay on couches, he commanded them in every instance to carry them away. Thus too he justified his disciples in gathering the ears of corn on the Sabbath to satisfy their hunger, though their doing so was unquestionably a breach of the Sabbath: and this he did for two very important reasons; first, to show that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath;" and secondly, that he,

* Exod. xxxi. 12—17. Compare Ezek. xx. 12. 20.

the Son of Man, as "Lord of the Sabbath," had the same power to abrogate it as he had at first to command its observance.

It deserves also to be noticed, that though in his Sermon on the Mount, and on many other occasions, he enforced and enlarged the other precepts of the Decalogue, he never enjoined the observance of the Sabbath on his disciples, nor gave them the slightest intimation that he designed the observation of it, under any modifications, to be continued in his Church. Accordingly we shall search the Scriptures in vain, either for any apostolical precept appointing the first day of the week to be observed in the place of the Jewish Sabbath, or for any unequivocal proof that the first Christians so observed it.

There are only three, or at most four, places of Scripture in which the first day of the week is mentioned, after our Lord's Ascension; and only one of these from which it can be certainly inferred that the disciples met on that day for the purposes of public worship. The two first passages are John xx. 19, and, *perhaps*, v. 26, which merely tell us, that on the first day of the week the disciples were assembled with closed doors for fear of the Jews. From these texts alone we could not with any safety conclude that the disciples met together for any religious purposes. The next passage is Acts xx. 7. "Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them." All that St. Luke here tells us plainly is, that on a particular occasion the Christians of Troas met together on the first day of the week to celebrate the Eucharist, and to hear St. Paul preach. This is the only place in Scripture in which the first day of the week is in any way connected with any acts of public worship, and he who would certainly infer from this solitary instance, that the first day of every week was consecrated by the Apostles to religious purposes, must be far gone in the art of drawing universal conclusions from particular premises. From 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, we learn that St. Paul had given orders to the Churches of Galatia and Corinth to make collections for the poor on the first day of the week; and Rev. i. 10, St. John tells us, "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day." This is *all* the positive information which the Scriptures afford respecting the observance of the first day of the week.

The want of all apostolical precept, either enjoining the observance of the Lord's Day in lieu of the Jewish Sabbath, or directing in what manner and for what purposes it ought to be observed, is the more remarkable when we consider that the great importance which the Mosaic Law attached to the times and circumstances of divine worship made it more necessary for the Apostles to notice these points, especially in their addresses to

their Jewish converts. But neither in the Epistle to the Hebrews, nor in any of the exhortations to the practical duties of Christianity, with which most of his Epistles are concluded, has St. Paul once mentioned this subject; neither did the Apostles, in their council at Jerusalem, think proper to include the mention of the Lord's Day among those things which it was necessary for the Gentiles to observe.

Such is the profound silence of Scripture on this head, that, except from the uniform tradition and practice of the Church (which in this, as in many other instances, is our best guide to Scripture truth) we could not certainly have known, that the Apostles set apart the first day of every week for the purposes of religious worship, in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, for the celebration of the Eucharist, and for the relief of the necessities of the poor. These, Justin informs us, were the ends for which Christians assembled on the Lord's Day. His account is not only in perfect harmony with Scripture, but it supplies the deficiencies of the Scripture narrative, and justifies us in inferring, from the scattered notices of this subject in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, that the Lord's Day was consecrated by the Apostles themselves to these pious and charitable uses. If, to this account, we add the testimony of Tertullian, that Sunday was dedicated by Christians to festivity and joy, we shall have collected nearly all that can be known of the manner in which the Lord's Day was celebrated in the primitive Church. This much, however, is certain; that as there is no divine or apostolical precept enjoining the mode in which the Lord's Day ought to be observed, we can follow no better guide than the tradition and usage of the Catholic Church. Much, therefore, is left to the authority of every particular Church, in defining the circumstances of the public worship on that day; and something is left to the conscience of every private Christian, in deciding in what manner the remainder of the day should be spent after the public worship is ended. The reasonableness of devoting this day to God's service is so evident, and its conduciveness to our spiritual improvement is so undeniable, that every good man will use his liberty in this respect with the utmost caution, and, rather than give offence even to his weaker brethren, will carefully conform to the customs of his country, and to the very prejudices of his fellow Christians.

The opinion that the Lord's Day should be observed by Christians with sabbatical strictness, and that all the precepts commanding the observation of the Jewish Sabbath were transferred by God himself to the first day of the week in the Christian Church, was first broached in this country about the year 1594,

by Dr. Bound, a puritan divine, and ever since that time has had many followers. To what a length this man and his fanatical adherents carried their notions the following passage may show.

"They were so hardy," says Collier, "as to say, 'That to do any servile work or business on the Lord's Day, was as great a sin as to kill a man, or to commit adultery . . . That to throw a bowl on the Lord's Day was as great a sin as to kill a man . . . That to make a feast, or dress a wedding-dinner in the same, was as great a sin as for a father to take a knife and cut his child's throat . . . And that to ring more bells than one on the Lord's Day was as great a sin as to commit a murder.'"*

How different was the feeling of our Reformers may be seen by referring to the act 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 3, which was passed for the regulation of the holidays to be observed in the Church of England; and other acts which were subsequently passed in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. for the better ordering of lawful Sunday sports, which had been immemorially used, but had fallen into great disorder, and gave occasion to much riot and profaneness.

It should be remembered, however, that in by-gone days, when Christians, as in Tertullian's time, devoted their Sundays to joy, none were permitted to partake of the common sports who had not been partakers of the common worship.

We have been so long occupied in examining the evidence of Justin, respecting the religious observances of the Christian Church in the middle of the second century, that we must here conclude our remarks. To complete the series of the Fathers of this century, from Justin to Tertullian (the first and the last whose writings the Bishop of Lincoln has undertaken to illustrate) Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria are all that now remain. Whether the very learned prelate has any design of illustrating their works, or whether his more important avocations will prevent his accomplishing this arduous task, we are altogether ignorant; but we know of no divine who has more fully proved that he possesses the varied learning, the candid judgment, and the sound discretion—all of which would be indispensably required in him who should attempt to analyze and to elucidate the profound and *gnostic* writings of the disciple of Pantænus.

* Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 11, book vii. p. 644. He quotes Heylin, Hist. Presbyt. lib. x. for these examples of Puritanical theology.

ART. VII.—*Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828.* By Captain Basil Hall, Royal Navy. 3 vols. 12mo. Cadell and Co., Edinburgh; Simpkin and Marshall, London: 1829. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

CAPTAIN BASIL HALL has been long known to the public as a very ingenious and lively traveller, and the work now before us will strengthen and perpetuate his title to that appellation. His disquisitions on politics and morals will be approved by some and blamed by others, but his narrative must be universally entertaining; so entertaining, indeed, that most readers will grumble at the repeated interruptions which it experiences from graver and more questionable matter. His *Travels in North America* might furnish ample materials, and a fair excuse, for an essay upon the Western World. But at the present moment we are not prepared for an investigation of this nature. We propose to let Captain Hall speak for himself; and he speaks so well, that we cannot cater better for the amusement and instruction of our friends than by allowing him to tell his story in his own words. The object for which he sought the American shore is detailed in the following passage.

“ In former days, I confess, I was not very well disposed to the Americans; a feeling shared with all my companions on board, and probably also with most of my superiors. But as the duties of a varied service, in after years, threw me far from the source at which these national antipathies had been imbibed, they appeared gradually to dissipate themselves, in proportion as my acquaintance with other countries was extended, and I had learned to think better of mankind in general. Thus, in process of time, I came to view with regret the prevalence in others of those hostile sentiments I had myself relinquished. My next anxiety naturally was, to persuade others that there really were no just grounds for the mutual hostility so manifestly existing between America and England. To speak more correctly, I could not help believing, that, in spite of the great differences in the geographical and political situation of the two countries, there must still be so many circumstances in which they agreed, that if the merits of both were respectively explained, there would spring up more cordiality between them; a state of things which I took it for granted must be advantageous to both countries.

“ These speculative views were further confirmed by the report of the Americans I met with from time to time, all of whom gave the most animating and unqualified praise to their country and its institutions; accompanied, invariably, by vehement denunciations against the whole race of travellers, whose statements they represented as being, without exception, false and slanderous, and, consequently, as doing their country no justice. So much, indeed, was I persuaded of the truth of these statements, that, from a desire to think well of the country, I avoided

reading any of the Travels in question, and rather chose to form my opinions mainly from the accounts of the Americans themselves.

“ At length, on the occurrence of an interval of professional leisure, I resolved to investigate this interesting subject for myself; for I found very few people in England of my way of thinking. Accordingly I set out for America, with the confident expectation, not only of finding ample materials for justifying these favourable impressions adopted from the Americans, but of being able, by a fair statement of the facts of the case, to soften in some degree the asperity of that ill-will, of which it was impossible to deny the existence, and which was looked upon by many persons in both countries as a serious international evil.

“ Probably, therefore, there seldom was a traveller who visited a foreign land in a more kindly spirit. I was really desirous of seeing every thing, relating to the people, country, and institutions, in the most favourable light; and was resolved to use my best endeavours to represent to my countrymen what was good, in colours which might incline them to think the Americans more worthy of regard and confidence than they generally were esteemed in England. It was also part of my project, if possible, to convince the Americans themselves that the English were willing to think well of them, and were sincerely anxious to be on good terms, if they could only see just grounds for a change of sentiment. Such were the hopes and wishes with which I landed in America.”—vol. i. pp. 3—5.

These hopes and wishes were not accomplished; and Captain Hall's three volumes must be read in order to understand the grounds of his disappointment. Whether those grounds are or are not sufficient, is a question which we shall refrain from discussing. But it strikes us that a different result might have been attained, if the inquirer had put Britain entirely out of the question, and confined himself to making acquaintance with America. The great cause of jealousy and ill-will between the two countries is the habit of comparing themselves constantly with each other. Nothing can spring from such irritating contrasts but mutual and inveterate dislike. And they who desire to diminish national antipathies, which are unworthy of civilized and Christian nations, should set about it by exhorting each party to rest contented with their own lot, and to look upon the other as connected with them by origin, language, and religion, but in political principles and practices utterly and irreversibly unlike.

Among the curiosities of New York we have the following description of moving a house.

“ I was so fortunate as to see, during my stay at New York, the curious process of moving a house bodily along the ground, an operation, as far as I know, peculiar to that place. The merit of this curious adaptation of well known mechanical operations belongs to Mr. Simeon Brown, who has very kindly explained the whole process to me, and by his permission I shall endeavour to give an account of it.

“ Every one has heard of moving wooden houses ; but the transportation of a brick dwelling is an exploit of a different nature. I shall describe simply what I saw, and then tell how the details were managed. In a street which required to be widened there stood two houses much in the way, their front being twelve feet too far forward. These houses, therefore, must either have been taken down, or shifted back. Mr. Brown undertook to execute the less destructive process. They were both of brick, and built together, one being forty feet deep, and twenty-five feet front ; the other thirty-two feet deep, and twenty-two feet front. They were of the same height, that is to say, twenty-two feet from the ground to the eaves, above which stood the roof and two large stacks of brick chimneys ; the whole forming a solid block of building, having two rows, of six windows each, along a front of forty-seven feet by twenty-two. This was actually moved in a compact body, without injury, twelve feet back from the street. I watched the progress of the preparations on the 25th of May with great interest ; but unfortunately, just as the men were proceeding to the actual business of moving the screws, I was obliged to run off to keep an appointment with the Mayor and Corporation ; and when I came back, three or four hours afterwards, the workmen had gone away after moving the buildings thirty inches ; which fact I ascertained by measurements of my own. On the next day, with equal perversity of fate, I was again called off to join a party going to New Jersey ; and on my return two days afterwards, I had the mortification to find the work completed. The houses were now exactly nine feet and a half from the position in which I had left them a few days before.”—vol. i. pp. 38, 39.

“ Such is the security of these operations, that no furniture is ever removed from the houses so transported. The inhabitants, I am told, move out and in as if nothing were going on. This, however, I did not see.

“ Mr. Brown was once employed to remove a house from the top to the bottom of a sloping ground ; and, as no additional impulse from screws was here required, he resolved to ease the building down, as sailors call it, by means of a tackle. Unfortunately, about the middle of the operation, the strop of one of the blocks broke, and the operator, who was standing on the lower side of the building, was horrified by the apparition of the house under weigh, and smoking by its friction, right down upon him. With that vigorous presence of mind which is compounded of thorough knowledge and a strong sense of the necessity of immediate action, and without which courage is often useless, he dashed a crow-bar, which he happened to have in his hand at the time, into a hole accidentally left in one of the ways, and leaping on one side, watched the result. The momentum of the enormous moving body was so great, that it fairly drove the iron bar, like a cutting instrument, for a considerable distance through the fibres of the timber. The main point, however, was gained, by the house being arrested in its progress down the hill ; and the able engineer, like an officer who has shown himself fertile in resource, reaped more credit from the successful application of a remedy

to an evil not anticipated, than if all had gone smoothly from the commencement."—vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

The account of the Penitentiary at Sing Sing on the Hudson River, at the distance of thirty miles from New York, is highly important. But we have room for the general result only, and must refer our readers to the work itself for the rest less interesting details.

"I have yet seen nothing in any part of the world in the way of prisons which appeared to be better managed than this establishment. It is no easy task to bring people who are well disposed under the influence of strict discipline; but when the parties to be wrought upon are wicked and turbulent by nature, and altogether unaccustomed to restraint, the difficulty is considerably augmented. This problem, however, has been, I think, pretty nearly solved in America.

"I had been told, in a general way, that several hundred convicts were employed at this spot, in the construction of a prison in which they themselves were eventually to be confined; but I could scarcely credit the accounts which described the degree of order and subordination maintained amongst a set of the most hardened ruffians anywhere to be found. Accordingly, although prepared in some degree, my astonishment was great when I approached the spot, and saw only two sentinels pacing along the height, from whence I looked down upon two hundred convicts at work. Some of these were labouring in a large marble quarry, others in long wooden sheds surrounding the spot, and some were engaged at various parts of the new prison, an extensive stone building running parallel to the river, about one-third of which had been finished and made habitable.

"Captain Lynds, the superintendent, for whom we had brought a letter, joined us on the edge of the cliff, and begged us to walk down, that we might see what was going on, and judge, by personal inspection, whether or not the accounts we had heard were exaggerated.

"There was an air of confident authority about all the arrangements of this place which gave us a feeling of perfect security, though we were walking about unarmed amongst cut-throats and villains of all sorts. There was something extremely imposing in the profound silence with which every part of the work of these people was performed. During several hours that we continued amongst them, we did not hear even a whisper, nor could we detect in a single instance an exchange of looks among the convicts, or what was still more curious, a sidelong glance at the strangers. Silence in fact is the essential, or I may call it the vital principle of this singular discipline. When to this are added unceasing labour during certain appointed hours, rigorous seclusion during the rest of the day, and absolute solitude all night, there appears to be formed one of the most efficacious combinations of moral machinery that has ever perhaps been seen in action."—vol. i. pp. 51—53.

Among the constant annoyances to which the travellers are exposed, and which are mentioned, perhaps, somewhat oftener

than necessary, we find an amusing notice of the self-laudatory habits of the people.

"At this early stage of the journey, I find from my notes that the most striking circumstance in the American character, which had come under our notice, was the constant habit of praising themselves, their institutions, and their country, either in downright terms, or by some would-be indirect allusions, which were still more tormenting. I make use of this sharp-edged word, because it really was exceedingly teasing, when we were quite willing and ready to praise all that was good, and also to see every thing, whether good or bad, in the fairest light, to be called upon so frequently to admit the justice of such exaggerations. It is considered, I believe, all over the world, as bad manners for a man to praise himself or his family. Now, to praise one's country appears, to say the least of it, in the next degree of bad taste.

"It was curious to see with what vigilant adroitness the Americans availed themselves of every little circumstance to give effect to this self-laudatory practice. I happened one day to mention to a lady, that I had been amused by observing how much more the drivers of the stages managed their horses by word of mouth than by touch of the whip. Upon which she replied, 'Oh yes, sir, the circumstance you relate is very interesting, as it shows both intelligence in the men, and sagacity in the animals.' This was pretty well; but I merely smiled and said nothing, being somewhat tickled by this amiable interchange of human wisdom and brute sagacity. The lady's suspicions, however, instantly took fire on seeing the expression of my countenance, and she answered my smile by saying, 'Nay, sir, do you not think the people in America, upon the whole, particularly intelligent?'

"Thus it ever was, in great things as well as in small, on grave or ludicrous occasions; they were eternally on the defensive, and gave us to understand that they suspected us of a design to find fault, at times when nothing on earth was farther from our thoughts."—vol. i. pp. 109, 110.

The description of the newly-settled territory, through which the Captain passed on his road from New York to Lake Erie, is in his best and most graphic style.

"The country during this day's journey, though not quite so recently settled as some we had seen before, presented nearly the same mixture of wide oceans of impervious looking forests, dotted over, here and there, with patches of cleared land under every stage of the agricultural process. Some of the fields were sown with wheat, above which could be seen numerous ugly stumps of old trees; others allowed to lie in grass, guarded, as it were, by a set of gigantic black monsters, the girdled, scorched, and withered remnants of the ancient woods. Many farms were still covered with a most inextricable and confused mass of prostrate trunks, branches of trees, piles of split logs, and of squared timbers, planks, shingles, great stacks of fuel; and often, in the midst of all this, could be detected, a half-smothered log-hut without windows or furniture, but well stocked with people. At other places we came upon ploughs, always drawn by oxen, making their sturdy way amongst the

stumps like a ship navigating through coral reefs, a difficult and tiresome operation. Often, too, without much warning, we came in sight of busy villages, ornamented with tall white spires, topping above towers in which the taste of the villagers had placed green Venetian blinds; and at the summit of all, handsome gilt weather-cocks, glittering and crowing, as it seemed, in triumph over the poor forest.

“ ‘ Driver ! ’ I called out upon one occasion, ‘ what is the name of this village ? ’

“ ‘ Camillus, sir. ’

“ ‘ And what is that great building ? ’

“ ‘ That is the seminary—the polytechnic. ’

“ ‘ And that great stone house ? ’

“ ‘ Oh, that is the wool-factory. ’

“ In short, an Englishman might fancy himself in the vale of Stroud. But, mark the difference :—at the next crack of the whip—hocus, pocus !—all is changed. He looks out of the window—rubs his eyes, and discovers that he is again in the depths of the wood at the other extremity of civilized society, with the world just beginning to bud in the shape of a smoky log-hut, ten feet by twelve, filled with dirty-faced children, squatted round a hardy-looking female, cooking victuals for a tired woodsman seated at his door, reading, with suitable glee, in the *Democratical Journal of New York*, an account of Mr. Canning’s campaign against the Ultra-Tories of the old country.”—vol. i. pp. 135, 136.

At Canandaigua we have the following brief notice of the ecclesiastical affairs of New York, which we recommend to the serious attentions of those churchmen, whether British or American, who are shocked at the existence of an Established Church.

“ On Sunday we attended the afternoon service in the *Episcopalian Church*. In America, the clergymen are chosen by their congregations, and may be dismissed at pleasure; a practice which has some good, and some bad effects. But it is not of Church discipline I mean to speak just now. The gentleman, who preached on the day in question, was in the unpleasant predicament just alluded to. After three years’ service his parishioners, it seems, became tired of him; and though no cause was assigned, as far as I could learn, the congregation intimated to him that they had no further occasion for his services. On this day, accordingly, he was to preach his farewell sermon. Much interest was naturally excited to know in what temper he would make his adieu. It was the opinion of many persons, whom I heard speaking of the circumstance, that he had been rather hardly dealt with, since he had zealously and faithfully performed all the duties of his station. No one seemed to know in the least what line he was about to take; for he had the unusual good sense to keep his own counsel. His opponents, if they had really no charge against their pastor, may have been a little uneasy; and his friends, I could easily discover, were very anxious. I happened to be living amongst his well-wishers, and naturally floated along with the tide which bore me, and became quite a party man—no very uncommon case—without knowing anything of the matter.

“The text, which was pithy and rather angry, gave us some alarm, and we expected to hear the rattling of a severe storm over our heads. The judicious preacher, however, disappointed his enemies, and gratified his friends; for while there was just enough in the text to show that he felt the severity of his sentence, the discourse itself breathed nothing but the truest Christian charity. By not even mentioning the word forgiveness, he studiously avoided showing that he was conscious of being injured; thus leaving any reproachful inferences to be drawn in secret by those who knew the truth, whatever that might be. It struck me that his congregation, on the mere strength of his having taste and discretion enough, and I may add humility, not to set up a whining justification when no specific charge was made, ought to have voted him into the pulpit again.

“His salary had been 500 dollars, or about 100 guineas a-year, and upon this fortune he had of course married. He was now left, however, without one dollar of income, and without a church. In any other country such a contingency in a man's affairs would be disastrous indeed; but in America, where the field is comparatively unoccupied, a man of his stamp is quite sure, I was told, to get employment again, almost immediately, in some line or other.

“It was not till long afterwards that I had the means of studying the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, though well worthy of attention. In the meantime, we had abundant ocular demonstration of the respect paid to the subject of religion; for scarcely a single village, however small, was without a church. It was hinted to me, indeed, slyly, that these churches were built as money speculations, and were not erected by the villagers themselves. But this, supposing it to be true, confirms, I think, instead of weakening the position; for it is obvious that the speculators in church-seats must reckon upon a congregation; and if there was not a steady religious sentiment prevalent amongst the population, these adventurers would be sure to lose their money.—Take it either way, it is clear that good must be the result.”—vol. i. pp. 149—151.

Previously to taking leave of the Erie Canal, Captain Hall furnishes us with the following particulars respecting it.

“Lockport is celebrated over the United States as the site of a double set of canal locks, admirably executed, side by side, five in each, one for boats going up, the other for those coming down the canal. The original level of the rocky table-land about Lockport is somewhat, though not much, higher than the surface of lake Erie, from which it is distant, by the line of the canal, about thirty miles. In order to obtain the advantage of having such an inexhaustible reservoir as lake Erie for a feeder to the canal, it became necessary to cut down the top of the ridge on which Lockport stands, to bring the canal level somewhat below that of the lake. For this purpose a magnificent excavation, called the Deep Cutting, several miles in length, with an average depth of twenty-five feet, was made through a compact horizontal limestone stratum—a

work of great expense and labour, and highly creditable to all parties concerned.

“The Erie Canal is 363 miles in length, 40 feet wide at the surface, 28 at bottom, and 4 feet deep. There are 83 locks of masonry, each 90 feet long by 15 wide. The elevation of Lake Erie above the Hudson at Albany is about 555 feet; but the lockage up and down on the whole voyage is 662 feet.

“This great work, which was commenced on the 4th of July, 1817, was completed in eight years and four months, and cost about nine millions and a half of dollars, or somewhat more than two millions sterling. A considerable sum has been since expended annually in repairing occasional breaches, and in rendering various parts more substantial than was thought necessary at first. These expenses were always calculated upon; but it was considered an object of primary importance in every point of view, to open the canal, from end to end, and bring it into actual use as soon as possible; even though some parts of it might not have been completed with the utmost degree of perfection. The result showed the wisdom of this proceeding, as the receipts from the tolls have greatly exceeded the anticipated amount; and accordingly have furnished the canal commissioners with adequate means for bringing the whole into the proper condition. Property of every kind has risen in value, as might have been expected, in all those parts of the country through which the canal passes, and a vast increase, both of exports and imports, has taken place in those sections of the state which lie between the Hudson and the lakes, all tending to increase the wealth and importance of the State of New York.”—vol. i. pp. 172—174.

We pass over the description of Niagara and its wonders as old and well-known friends, and confine our extracts from the Canadian portion of the town to an interesting account of the civilization of an Indian tribe, and to some very important information respecting the emigrants recently located in the Upper Province.

“On our way to York, the capital of Upper Canada, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, we made a turn off the road, to visit a village recently erected on the banks of the river Credit, and inhabited by the tribe of Mississaguas.

“Till within the last three or four years, these Indians were known in that part of Canada as the most profligate, drunken, and it was supposed, irreclaimable of savages. Such, indeed, was their state of wretchedness, that the total and speedy extinction of the whole tribe seemed inevitable. All this was attributed to other causes than poverty; for the annual distribution of goods to the tribe, either as a bounty from the crown, or as a consideration for lands which they had ceded, was most ample; whilst their neighbourhood to populous settlements insured them a ready market for their game or fish, if they had been industriously disposed. They owned also a fine tract of land, reserved for their exclusive use. But it seems they were lost in a state of continual intoxication; brought on by drinking the vilest kind of spirits, obtained by bartering the clothes and other articles annually served out to them by government.

“Such a state of things, of course, attracted much attention, and many plans were suggested for ameliorating their condition; but none succeeded in reclaiming these miserable objects, till, about three or four years ago, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then governor of Upper Canada, conceived the idea of domesticating these Indians on the banks of the river Credit. The ground, accordingly, was soon cleared, commodious houses were built, and implements of husbandry, clothes, and other things, given to the new settlers. These wretched people were induced to take this step chiefly by the influence of a missionary of the name of Jones, whose mother was a Mississagua, and his father a white man. Jones, it appears, had fallen in with some persons of the Methodist persuasion, who, with the zeal and sagacity by which they are so much distinguished, had imparted to him not only strong religious feelings, but had taught him to see how usefully he might be employed in reclaiming his Indian brethren from the degradation into which they had fallen. It happened, fortunately, that just at the moment, owing to some circumstances which I forget, he had acquired a considerable degree of influence amongst the tribe in question; and his own virtuous efforts being opportunely seconded by the government, the result, so far as we could judge, was wonderful.

“From living more like hogs than men, these Mississaguas had acquired, when we saw them, many domestic habits. They had all neat houses, made use of beds, tables and chairs, and were perfectly clean in their persons, instead of being plastered over with paint and grease. They were, also, tolerably well dressed, and were described as being industrious, orderly, and, above all, sober. Most of the children, and a few of the older Indians, could read English; facts which we ascertained by visiting their school; and I have seldom seen anything more curious. The whole tribe profess Christianity, attend divine service regularly, and, what is still more to the purpose, their conduct is said to be in character with their profession. Instead of hunting and fishing for a precarious livelihood, they now cultivate the ground; and in place of galloping off to the whisky shop with their earnings, lay them up to purchase comforts, and to educate and clothe their children. Such at least were the accounts given to us.

“We examined the village minutely, and had some conversation with the schoolmaster, a brother of Mr. Jones, the person to whose exertions so much of the success of this experiment is due. The number of Indians at the Credit village is only 215; but the great point gained, is the fact of reformation being possible. The same feelings and disposition to improve are extending rapidly, I am told, amongst the other tribes connected with the Mississaguas, and chiefly amongst the Chipewas of Lake Simcoe, and those of Rice Lake.

“I had frequent opportunities afterwards, during the journey, of conversing with persons well acquainted with the Indians of North America, and I was sorry to observe, that faint hopes were entertained as to any permanent improvement being possible in the condition of these poor people. When I described what I had seen at this village, the persons I spoke to could not deny, they said, that by the care of government, and

especially of disinterested and zealous people, willing to take personal trouble in teaching them the arts of civil life, they may be brought, apparently, to a considerable state of civilization; but that, sooner or later, they are always found to relapse, when the hand that guides them is withdrawn.

“ I confess I am unwilling to adopt so discouraging a notion; and I still think, after all I have seen and heard, that, by some means or other, the Indians might be reclaimed. This, however, can be accomplished, as I conceive, only by allowing them to mingle with the whites, to possess individual property, as well as political rights, and thence they might come, in time, to understand the practical value of religious and moral duties; obligations which are manifestly useless to such people, or to any people, when preached merely in the abstract.”—vol. i. pp. 257—261.

The result of Captain Hall's inquiries respecting emigration is, that to the poor labouring man it has proved, and will generally prove, a great blessing; but he does not recommend a settlement *in the Bush* to ladies and gentlemen. The accounts of experiments of this kind which have been made by the latter are among the most curious portions of the work. A half-pay officer, with a wife and three children, and nothing to live upon but a hundred pounds a-year, borrows £200, expends half the sum in implements of husbandry, &c., and sets sail from Bristol.

“ We sailed on the 3d of May, 1819, and after a tedious voyage to Quebec, and some detention afterwards in getting up the country, we arrived at the village of Cobourg, in the district of Newcastle, on the 19th of July. The whole of my expenses, for voyage, provisions, and all other travelling charges, amounted to £100 : 8s., so that on my arrival I had a very small sum left. However, my quarter's pay came round, I was in a cheap country, and, moreover, found a most warm and hospitable reception in the house of my old and esteemed friend. As a new township on the Rice Lake was about being surveyed, and I had not means to purchase a cleared farm near my friend, I determined to wait till the survey was finished, and try the Bush—as the woods here are called. This was in the month of December of the same year. I then obtained the grant of land my rank in the naval service entitled me to. In February, 1820, I contracted with two men to put me up a log-house, twenty-eight feet by twenty, and thirteen logs, or as many feet high; to roof it with shingles, and to board up the gable ends; and to clear off one acre about the house, to prevent the trees from falling on it, for all which I paid them 100 dollars. This shell of a building had merely a doorway cut out of the middle; and when my friend and the clergyman of Hamilton drove out in a single sleigh with me, to see it, and we took our dinner at one end and our horse at the other, on a miserably cold day in the month of March, it looked wretched enough; but as it was the first but one, so it was the last in the township. Whilst the snow and ice were good, I moved all my effects, got boards sufficient to finish

my house, and a six months' stock of provisions out; and on the 8th of May took my family into their pile of logs in a Canadian forest.

" 'I will own, for a time our situation appalled me, and to my then unformed judgment in Bush matters, it seemed a hopeless struggle; but I was out with my family, and as I did not want for energy, I set to work in earnest. To two Americans I let a job to chop four acres and a half, at six dollars an acre; and at the same time, a man whom I had occasionally employed at home followed me out, and came to hire. During the course of the summer, he felled and chopped up three acres more: my cleared acre I planted with potatoes, a little corn, and turnips: my stock consisted of a cow and yoke of steers three years old, with the management of which I was totally unacquainted when I bought them; but if a man will give his mind to any common thing of the kind, and not think it a hardship, it is surprising what he may do, as in this case after a few days I found no difficulty.

" 'I was now anxious to get my house made habitable as soon as possible, and a carpenter being employed not far off, I endeavoured to engage him to put in the windows and door; but finding that he wished to take advantage of my situation, I determined to do it myself, and thus was forced to learn the business of a carpenter. This I considered no hardship, as I had always been fond of the use of tools, and had, previous to my leaving England, taken several lessons in turning. During the summer, I got my house chinked, or filled the interstices between the logs with pieces of wood to make the inside flush or smooth, and to prevent the mud used as plaster on the outside from coming through. I then put in the windows and door, laid the floors, and partitioned off the lower part of the house into two good rooms; on wet days employed my man to dig a cellar under the house; in short, before the winter, I had made the log-house comfortable within, and, with the addition of some white-wash, smart without.

" 'In August we cut some coarse grass in a beaver meadow close by, sprinkling salt through the little stack as we made it; after this we logged up and cleared three acres of the land I had chopped, and by the latter end of September had it sown with wheat; the logging, though heavy, I did with my hired man and steers, and before the winter, had it fenced with rails. Here, it may be remarked, I did not get much land cleared, but by doing little, and that partly with my own hands, I gained experience; and I would strongly advise gentlemen settling in Canada with small means, to commence clearing slowly, and with as little expense as possible.

" 'In the fall, or autumn, I put up a log-kitchen, and a shed for my cattle; during the winter, I employed my man in chopping three acres more, in which I now and then assisted him, and soon became very expert in the use of the axe, felling the trees to the most advantage to assist their burning, and to save trouble in logging. With my beaver-meadow hay, and the fir tops of the fallen trees, my cattle were kept fat all the winter. In the spring, three acres more were cleared, fenced, and cropped with corn, potatoes and turnips; and where log-heaps had been burnt, the ashes were hoed off, and planted with melons and

cucumbers; a small patch was fenced off for a nursery, and apple-seeds sown, trees which are now ten and twelve feet high. I also put out several of the wild plum-trees of the country, which now bear abundance of fine fruit. From this time about five acres yearly have been added to my farm, taking great care, in clearing off my land, never to destroy a log that would make rails, by which means the fence always came off the field cleared; and although they are small—from four to six acres—the fences are all six feet or nine rails high. Here I will remark, it is a great fault to split rails small, an error that most new settlers persist in. In the spring of 1822, my attention was turned to making a flower and kitchen garden. Round the latter I made a straight fence with cedar posts, and thirteen rails high, which is at this day stocked with every kind of fruit tree to be had in the neighbourhood, which flourish beyond my expectation. My stock of animals has been gradually increasing, and to my other stock I have added horses and sheep, with poultry of all kinds.

“ In the year 1825 I had repaid the money I borrowed, by leaving back a small part of my half-pay every quarter, and had received a deed for 600 acres of my land, on which I had performed the settlement duty, which cost me £30. My farm is now increased to thirty-six acres. I have the deed for the remaining 200 acres of my land; also deeds for town and park lots in the rapidly-settling town of Peterborough; and, as my family have increased to six, and are growing up, I am just now about building a frame-house, thirty-six feet by twenty-six in the clear, two stories high, with a commodious kitchen behind, the timber and shingles for which I have bought by disposing of a mare, after using her for five years, and breeding a pair of horses from her. With my own exertions—being able to do most of the carpenter's work inside—and about £100, I expect to get it finished.

“ Some of my first chopped land is now nearly clear of stumps. I am planting out an orchard of apple-trees, raised from the seed sown by myself; have a good barn and stable, with various other offices; in short, feel that I have surmounted every difficulty. A town is growing up near me, roads are improving, bridges are built; one of the best mills in the province is just finished at Peterborough, another within three miles of me. Boards, and all descriptions of lumber, are cheap—about five dollars 1000 feet, four saw mills being in operation. Stores, a tannery, distillery, and many other useful businesses, are established, or on the eve of being so, at Peterborough; on the road to which, through Otanabee, the Land Company, the clergy, and some private individuals, have some of the best land in the province for sale, at from 7s. 6d. to 10s. per acre. The price of land generally, except on the roads, is about 5s. per acre.

“ I was the first settler in the township, and almost before a tree was cut down; now there are nearly 2000 acres cleared, and 125 families, consisting of 500 souls. On parallel lines, at the distance of three quarters of a mile apart, roads, of from thirty-three to sixty-six feet wide, are cut and cleared out by the parties owning the land all through the township, which will ultimately be of the greatest benefit, and are so

now to those settlers near them. They have been much cavilled at, and found fault with, by land speculators, and persons having large grants; but I never yet heard an actual settler complain of them. One great objection urged against them was, that a second growth of trees would spring up along these cleared avenues or roads, and be worse than that removed; but, from strict observation, I find this fallacious, as the second growth is always a different wood, generally poplar, cherry, elder, &c., with sprouts from some of the old stumps, and so thick that they cannot come to any size; while every year there is destroying, by slow but sure means, stumps that will take twenty or thirty years to get rid of.

“I have now given an indifferent sketch of my settlement in the woods, from which, I think, it will be seen, that even a person not brought up to labour, and under many disadvantageous circumstances—such as going far back in a settlement, want of roads, bridges, mills and society, and having a sum of money to repay—still it will be seen that, with a good heart, and an industrious turn, a gentleman of small income may better his situation. And I certainly will say, that any person with the same means, and who will turn his hand to anything he can that is not dishonourable, will do well to follow the same course; and I think that such will not injure their country by leaving it. For example, while in England, on half-pay, nearly all my income went for food; here it nearly all goes for clothing of British manufacture. My family is supported with respectability and comfort, having abundance of all the necessaries of life within my farm, and my pay enabling me to supply all other requisites. Here we can keep the door of hospitality open, without inconvenience, and find leisure to visit our friends, and enjoy ourselves in a pleasant way, keeping a pair of good horses, sleighs, &c. &c.”—vol. i. pp. 326—333.

We intended to confine our extracts to these serious matters; but there is one little story so characteristic of the writer, and of the manner in which he continues to entertain his readers by lively descriptions of trifling occurrences, that we cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing it.

“A little before sunset, when still six or eight miles from our sleeping place, we emerged from the forest, and found ourselves most unexpectedly in one of the prettiest little valleys of America. A dark-coloured, sleepy-looking stream of water, called *La Riviere Rouge*, the drainings, probably, of some marsh, was flowing very slowly past, in tortuous bends, through a meadow which was confined by steep banks of red earth, bristled at top with underwood, out of which, a little removed from the brink, rose groups or clusters of straight-stemmed pines, as far up and down the glen as its windings would admit of our seeing.

“The western part of the valley was dropping fast into shade as the sun went down; while the opposite side was still lighted up, except at two or three places where the shadows, having crossed the stream, were beginning to creep up the bank. Accordingly, as far as masses of light and shade, and variety of tints and forms went, the conditions of the picturesque were liberally supplied. But a painter, who, like a farmer,

is seldom quite satisfied with the gifts of nature as they come to his hand, might possibly have wished to superadd a bridge as a feature to the landscape; and so certainly did we, though from a cause unconnected with the fine arts. The water, we found to our dismay, was too deep to ford; and as there appeared to be no ferry-boat, we were placed in a most awkward dilemma.

"On reaching the spot where a bridge once stood, but stood no longer, we observed a little boy, paddling in a canoe not twice his own length, very busily engaged in transporting a most unwilling horse across the river. We had some interest in this matter, and watched the young captain's proceedings attentively. He first carried over the rider, with the saddle and bridle, in his nut-shell vessel; then returned to make a rope fast to the horse's head; after which he paddled himself back again to the opposite shore, where he tugged away manfully at the line, while his companion, another little urchin about ten years of age, brought up the rear, hallooing and driving the terrified steed into the flood.

"I must say I did not much admire this sort of navigation, which looked more like playing at ships than real service; but as there was no better to be had, we plucked up what courage we could muster, and trusted ourselves, one at a time, in our gallant young commodore's rickety bark, and all reached the other side in safety. The next job was to ferry the baggage over; and this effected, the horse was towed across, secundum artem, by the nose—an operation of some delicacy both to actors and spectators. Lastly came the transportation of the waggon, and here all my seamanship served only to show the hazard incurred of losing the whole conveyance. If the rope, which was what we call at sea inch-and-a-half line, or ratlin stuff, but old and much worn, had given way, as I fully expected it would, when the waggon was half channel over, and nothing in sight but four or five inches of the railing above the water, we must have bivouac'd where we were on the left bank of the Rouge, or Roosh, as it is called, which, however picturesque, was not exactly the place we should have selected for our night's quarters.

"Fortunately we succeeded in dragging the carriage across, and when the fore wheels fairly touched the bank, I thought, of course, that all our difficulties were over. But the united strength of all the party, males and females, young and old, combined, could not budge it more than a foot out of the water. 'I don't know what we should have done, had we not spied, near the landing place, a fathom or two of chain, one end of which our active little commanding officer soon tied to the carriage, and the horse being hitched, as the Americans term it, to the other, we drew it triumphantly to land, with a cheer which made the forest ring again.'—vol. i. pp. 268—271.

We must now proceed with our gallant sailor into the troubled sea of American politics. His account of the never-ending, still-beginning elections and canvassings, tallies with what has been stated elsewhere upon the same subject.

"During our stay at Albany, we went frequently into company, especially to dinners and to evening parties, both large and small, which

afforded us the most agreeable opportunities of seeing and judging of the state of domestic society; one feature of which ought to be mentioned, as it meets a stranger's observation in every quarter of that wide country. I mean the spirit of party—not to call it politics—or rather, to define it more correctly, the spirit of electioneering, which seems to enter as an essential ingredient into the composition of every thing.

“The most striking peculiarity of this spirit, in contradistinction to what we see in England, is, that its efforts are directed more exclusively to the means, than to any useful end. The Americans, as it appears to me, are infinitely more occupied about bringing in a given candidate, than they are about the advancement of those measures of which he is conceived to be the supporter. They do occasionally advert to these prospective measures, in their canvassing arguments in defence of their own friends, or in attacks upon the other party; but always, as far as I could see, more as rhetorical flourishes, or as motives to excite the furious acrimony of party spirit, than as distinct or sound anticipations of the line of policy which their candidate, or his antagonist, was likely to follow. The intrigues, the canvassings for votes, all the machinery of newspaper abuse and praise, the speeches and manœuvres in the legislature, at the bar, by the fireside, and in every hole and corner of the country from end to end, without intermission, form integral parts of the business—apparently far more important than the candidate's wishes—his promises—or even than his character and fitness for the office.

“All these things, generally speaking, it would seem, are subordinate considerations; so completely are men's minds swallowed up in the technical details of the election. They discuss the chances of this or that state, town, or parish, or district, going with or against their friend. They overwhelm one another with that most disagreeable of all forms of argument—authorities. They analyse every sentence uttered by any man, dead or alive, who possesses, or ever did possess, influence; not, it must be observed, to come at any better knowledge of the candidate's pretensions as a public man, but merely to discover how far the weight of such testimony is likely to be thrown into their own scale, or that of the opposite party.

“The election of the President, being one affecting the whole country, the respective candidates for that office were made the butts at which all political shafts were aimed, and to which every other election was rendered subservient, not indirectly, but by straight and obvious means. It was of no importance, apparently, whether the choice to be made at any given election were that of a governor, a member to Congress, or to the Legislature of the State—or whether it were that of a constable of the obscure ward of an obscure town—it was all the same. The candidates seldom, if ever, that I could see, even professed to take their chief ground as the fittest men for the vacant office—this was often hardly thought of—as they stood forward simply as Adams men or Jackson men—these being the names, it is right to mention, of the two gentlemen aiming at the Presidency. Although the party principles of these candidates for any office, on the subject of the Presidential election, could not—nine cases in ten—afford any index to their capacity for

filling the station to which they aspired, their chance of success was frequently made to hinge upon that matter exclusively. Thus the man who could bring most votes to that side of this grand, all-absorbing Presidential question which happened to have the ascendancy for the time being, was sure to gain the day, whether he were or were not the best suited to fill the particular vacancy.

"More or less this interference of Presidential politics in all the concerns of life, obtained in every part of America which I visited. There were exceptions, it is true, but these were so rare, that the tone I have been describing was assuredly the predominant one everywhere. The consequence was, that the candidates for office, instead of being the principals, were generally mere puppets—men of straw—abstract beings, serving the purpose of rallying points to the voters from whence they might carry on their main attack in the pursuit of an ulterior object, which after all was equally immaterial in itself, but which served for the time being to engross the attention of the people as completely as if it were of real consequence to them. In these respects, therefore, the Presidential contests in America resemble those field sports in which the capture of the game is entirely subordinate to the pleasures of its pursuit."—vol. ii. p. 59—62.

On the practice of drinking drams, and the misery and pauperism which are produced by it, we have the following remarks:

"In all other countries with which I have any acquaintance, the use of ardent spirits is confined almost exclusively to the vulgar; and though, undoubtedly, the evil it causes may be severe enough, it certainly is not, upon the whole, any where so conspicuous as in the United States.

"In the course of the journey, such ample means of judging of these effects lay on every hand, that I speak of them with great confidence when I say, that a deeper curse never afflicted any nation. The evil is manifested in almost every walk of life, contaminates all it touches, and at last finds its consummation in the alms-house, the penitentiary, or the insane institution; so that, while it threatens to sap the foundation of every thing good in America—political and domestic—it may truly be said to be worse than the yellow fever, or the negro slavery, because apparently more irremediable. Dram drinking has been quaintly called the natural child and the boon companion of democracy; and is probably not less hurtful to health of body, than that system of government appears to be to the intellectual powers of the mind.

"Fortunately, however, the sober-minded part of the American population, who are fully alive to the enormity of this growing and frightful evil, are making great efforts to check its progress. At the same time I must confess, that as yet I have not heard in conversation, nor seen in print, nor observed any thing myself in passing through the country, which promises the least alleviation to this grievous mischief, of which the origin and continuance, I suspect, lie somewhat deeper than any American is willing to carry his probe. The habit, according to my view of the matter, is interwoven in the very structure of that political society which the Americans not only defend, but uphold as the very

wisest that has ever been devised, or ever put in practice, for the good of mankind. At present, however, my object is to deal chiefly with the fact, though I may remark in passing, that in a country where all effective power is placed—not indirectly and for a time, but directly, universally, and permanently—in the hands of the lowest and most numerous class of the community, the characteristic habits of that class must of necessity predominate, in spite of every conceivable device recommended and adopted by the wise and the good men of the nation.

“That I am not overstating the facts of this case, will be seen from the following extracts from the First Report of the “American Society for the Promotion of Temperance,” established at Boston on the 10th of January, 1826:—

“The evils arising from an improper use of intoxicating liquors, have become so extensive and desolating, as to call for the immediate, vigorous, and persevering efforts of every philanthropist, patriot, and Christian. The number of lives annually destroyed by this vice in our own country is thought to be more than thirty thousand; and the number of persons who are diseased, distressed, and impoverished by it, to be more than two hundred thousand; many of them are not only useless, but a burden and a nuisance to society.

“These liquors, it is calculated, cost the inhabitants of this country annually, more than forty millions of dollars; and the pauperism occasioned by an improper use of them, (taking the commonwealth of Massachusetts as an example,) costs them upwards of twelve millions of dollars.”—p. 8.

“The society is in hopes, that by ‘some system of instruction and action, a change may be brought about in public sentiment and practice in regard to the use of intoxicating liquors; and thus an end be put to that wide-spreading intemperance which has already caused such desolation in every part of our country, and which threatens destruction to the best interests of this growing and mighty republic.’—p. 4.

“The same Report contains many very curious extracts from official and other documents, all bearing more or less testimony to the enormity of this evil, but which are too long to extract. The following paragraphs, however, are so remarkable in themselves, independently of their connexion with this subject, that I think it right to give them a place without abridgment.

“The number of paupers received into the alms-house at Philadelphia, in 1823, was 4908			expenses in dollars 144,557
in 1824	5251	198,000
in 1825	4394	201,000
in 1826	4272	129,383

Total in four years 18,825 expenses 672,940

“The alms-house at New York, and the penitentiary connected with it, has about 2000 inmates constantly, at the annual cost of about a hundred thousand dollars. Nearly all these people are addicted to intemperance.

“From a Report made to the legislature of New Hampshire in 1821,

by a committee, it appears that the maintenance of the poor in that state has cost them, from 1799 to 1820, 726,547 dollars—average annual expense, 36,327 dollars. In Massachusetts there are 7000 paupers, whose support costs the state 360,000 dollars. From a Report made to the legislature by the Secretary of State, in the year 1822, it appears that there were then 6896 permanent, and 22,111 temporary paupers, whose support cost that year 470,582 dollars.

“ ‘ By means of these data we estimate the number of paupers in the United States at two hundred thousand, whose support costs annually ten millions of dollars. We coincide in opinion with the managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in the city of New York, who, in one of their Reports, say, “ in the production of crime and pauperism, ardent spirits may justly be called the cause of causes.” ’—First Annual Report of the American Temperance Society, printed at Andover, 1828, pages 64 and 65.

“ It would be well, I think, if those writers and orators—on both sides of the Atlantic—who are so prompt at every moment to visit with unmitigated censure the operation of the English Poor Law system, would take the trouble to look at some of these things. The abuses of the Poor Laws are no doubt often grievous; and certainly I have no intention of becoming the champion of such departures from their original intention. That sort of argument, indeed, which derives its merit from recrimination, like the celebrated dispute touching the relative colour of the pot and kettle, may not always elicit important truths, but may sometimes do good, by making inconsiderate people think and inquire, before they speak.”—pp. 83—88.

The account of the celebrated preacher, Dr. Channing, and of the progress of his opinions, is worthy of particular attention.

“ As our object on arriving at any place was always to see, as soon as possible, whatever was most remarkable, we gladly availed ourselves of a friend's convoy to one of the Unitarian churches, on the next day, Sunday, the 7th of October, when a celebrated champion of these doctrines was to preach.

“ A considerable change, it appears, had taken place at Boston, of late years, in the religious tenets of the inhabitants; and Unitarianism, or, as I find it called in their own publications, Liberal Christianity, had made great advances, chiefly under the guidance of this distinguished person.

“ The pastor had just returned to his flock after an absence of some months, and took advantage of the occasion to review, in a rapid manner, the rise and progress, as well as the peculiar nature, of the doctrines he so powerfully advocates. He struck me as being in many respects a very remarkable preacher, particularly in the quietness or repose of his manner. How far this proceeded from the simplicity of his thoughts, or from the unaffected plainness of his language, I cannot exactly say; but the power which it gave him of introducing, when it suited his purpose, occasional passages of great force and richness of expression, was one of which he availed himself with much skill. It was manifest, indeed, that

the influence he held, or appeared to hold, over the minds of his hearers was derived mainly from their reliance on his sincerity, whatever some of them might have thought of his doctrines. The tone of his voice was familiar, though by no means vulgar; on the contrary, it might almost be called musical, and was certainly very pleasing to the ear; but whether this arose from the sounds themselves, or from the eloquent arrangement of the words, I never thought of inquiring, as I was carried along irresistibly by the smooth current of his eloquence.

“ He began by greeting his friends with great suavity of address; and if there did appear a little touch of vanity in the implied importance which he attached to all that concerned himself in the eyes of his flock, it partook not in the slightest degree of arrogance, but was very allowable, considering the real influence he had so long enjoyed. Indeed, from what I saw and heard, I should think he rather fell short than exceeded the limits to which he might have safely gone, when speaking to his congregation of the feelings, the hopes, and the fears which rose in his mind on returning to his wonted duties, with health somewhat repaired, but not restored. At first, this familiarity of tone, and almost colloquial simplicity of expression, sounded so strangely from the pulpit, that the impression was not altogether favourable, but there soon appeared so much real kindness in all he said, that even we, though strangers, were not untouched by it.

“ He then gradually embarked on the great ocean of religious controversy, but with such consummate skill, that we scarcely knew we were at sea till we discovered that no land was in sight. After assuring us that he had been called to the front of the battle, though in truth he was a man of peace, and a hater of all disputation, he described, with singular effect, the impression left on his mind, one day recently, by hearing a discourse in a country church where narrow views of mental liberty had been inculcated. Nothing certainly could be more poetical than the contrast which he drew between the confined doctrines he had heard within the walls, and what he eloquently called the free beauties of thought and of nature without.

“ By the time the preacher reached this part of his discourse, our curiosity was much excited, and I, for my own part, felt thoroughly caught, and almost prepared to go along with him into any region he pleased to carry me.

“ He next gave us an account of his share in the progress of the controversies to which he alluded, and explained again and again to us, in a variety of different shapes, that his great end in advocating the Unitarian, or Liberal doctrines, was to set the human mind entirely free on religious subjects, without any reference, he earnestly assured us, to one sect more than to another, but purely to the end that there might be, in the world at large, the fullest measure of intellectual independence of which our nature is capable. He spoke a good deal of the Christian dispensation, to which, however, he ascribed no especial illuminating powers, but constantly implied, that every man was to judge for himself as to the degree and value of the light shed by Revelation. Reason and conscience, according to his view of the matter, ought to be our sole

guides through life, and the efficacy of our Saviour's atonement was not, as far as I could discover, even once alluded to, except for the purpose of setting it aside. He earnestly exhorted his hearers not to rely entirely upon the Scriptures, nor upon him, their pastor, nor upon any other guides, human or divine, if I understood him correctly, but solely upon the independent efforts of their own minds. Our Saviour, as 'the first of the Sons of God,' he held up as an example worthy of all imitation; but the indispensable necessity of his vicarious sacrifice was clearly denied.

"The Christian religion, he told us, as first preached by the Apostles, was well suited to those early times; but, according to him, it soon became corrupted, and was never afterwards purified, even at the Reformation. Much, therefore, still remained to be done; and one step in this great work, he led us to infer, was actually in progress before us, in the extension of Unitarianism.

"As it is quite foreign to my purpose to enter into the details of this controversy, I have merely mentioned, as impartially as possible, what seem to be the leading points of a doctrine which has obtained a complete ascendancy in one of the most enlightened parts of the country, and is rapidly spreading itself over the United States, in spite of the efforts of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches. Under their banners, indeed, I have the satisfaction of saying, there are collected men of the most eminent piety, and ardent devotion to the service of religion, who, I am well convinced, from all I saw and heard, are as zealously bent on defending the sacred cause intrusted to their hands, as any body of men in the world. I make this assertion respecting the American Clergy without reservation of any kind; for it is my firm belief, after the most attentive observation and inquiry, that, as far as in them lies, the cause alluded to will not be neglected."—p. 112—116.

The manufacturing progress and prospects of the United States, form a very curious subject of inquiry and speculation; and Captain Hall's account of the American Manchester fully deserves to be extracted.

"On the 12th of October, we made an expedition from Boston to the largest manufacturing establishment in New England, or, I suppose, in America, at Lowell, on the banks of the Merrimack. This river had been allowed to dash unheeded over the Falls in that neighbourhood, from all time, until the recent war gave a new direction to industry, and diverted capital heretofore employed in commerce or in agriculture, into the channel of manufactures. A few years ago, the spot which we now saw covered with huge cotton mills, smiling villages, canals, roads, and bridges, was a mere wilderness, and, if not quite solitary, was inhabited only by painted savages. Under the convoy of a friendly guide, who allowed us to examine not only what we pleased, but how we pleased, we investigated these extensive works very carefully.

"The stuffs manufactured at Lowell, mostly of a coarse description, are woven entirely by power looms, and are intended, I was told, chiefly for home consumption. Every thing is paid for by the piece, but the

people work only from daylight to dark, having half an hour to breakfast and as long for dinner. The whole discipline, ventilation, and other arrangements, appeared to be excellent; of which the best proof was the healthy and cheerful look of the girls, all of whom, by the way, were trigged out with much neatness and simplicity, and wore high tortoise-shell combs at the back of their heads. I was glad to learn that the most exemplary purity of conduct existed universally amongst these merry damsels—a class of persons not always, it is said, in some other countries, the best patterns of moral excellence. The state of society, indeed, readily explains this superiority: in a country where the means of obtaining a livelihood are so easy, every girl who behaves well is so sure of being soon married. In this expectation they all contrive, it seems, to save a considerable portion of their wages; and the moment the favoured swain has attained the rank of earning a dollar a day, the couple are proclaimed in church next Sunday, to a certainty. The fortune, such as it is, thus comes with the bride; at least she brings enough to buy the clothes, furniture, and the other necessities of an outfit.

“Generally, however, these good folks, as well as many of the more wealthy class of the community, do not think of setting up an establishment of their own at first, but live at boarding-houses. This apparently comfortless mode of life is undoubtedly far the most economical; besides which, it saves the mistress of the family from the wear and tear of domestic drudgery, always unavoidably great in a country where menial service is held to be disgraceful. What happens when a parcel of youngsters make their appearance, I forgot to inquire; but before that comes about to any great extent, the parties have probably risen in the world;—for every thing in America relating to population seems to be carried irresistibly forward by a spring-tide of certain prosperity. There is plenty of room—plenty of food—and plenty of employment; so that, by the exercise of a moderate share of diligence, the young couple may swell their establishment to any extent they please, without those doubts and fears, those anxious misgivings, which attend the setting out of children in older and more thickly-peopled countries! In America, an urchin, before he is much bigger than a cotton bobbin, is turned to some use. By and by, when he gets tired of school, he turns mutineer, buys an axe, and scampers off to the western forests, where he squats down on the first piece of land which pleases him. He forthwith marries, and rears up a nest-full of children, who in due course of time play a similar round of independent pranks, and reap the same roving sort of success, in the same broad world which is all before them, where to choose their place of unquiet rest.

“On the 13th October, at six o'clock in the morning, I was awakened by the bell which tolled the people to their work, and on looking from the window, saw the whole space between the ‘Factories’ and the village speckled over with girls, nicely dressed, and glittering with bright shawls and showy-coloured gowns, and gay bonnets, all streaming along to their business, with an air of lightness, and an elasticity of step, implying an obvious desire to get to their work.”—pp. 134—137.

The sentiments of Captain Hall upon the state of the American Navy, are given to us when he visits the arsenal at Boston.

“ In the Navy yard we saw two line-of-battle ships, one frigate, and one sloop of war, on the stocks; all ready to be put into the water at a month or six weeks’ notice. The frames of these fine ships were of live oak, as well as the keels, transoms, and other essential large timbers, including the beams before and abaft the masts; the rest was white oak. The line-of-battle ships were about the size of his Majesty’s ship *Ganges*, but without poops. A dry dock, which when completed is to be 210 feet long, is in progress, under the management of a skilful engineer whom I had the satisfaction of meeting on the spot. With that absence of all idle concealments which I found every where in America, this gentleman produced his plans before me, and we discussed together the pros and cons of such matters, as if the whole were merely an abstract question of scientific engineering,—to the entire oblivion of national rivalries. Nothing, certainly, is more agreeable than such confidence.

“ While we were chatting away in this familiar style, we were joined by the naval officer in command of the station, an old and valued friend of mine, with whom I had formed an acquaintance in other countries, such as no circumstances of peace or war, I trust, will ever diminish.

“ The naval officers of America form, necessarily, as it always appeared to me, a class somewhat more distinct than any other from the rest of the community; for they are the only persons in the country whose whole lives are passed in permanent habits of subordination. In fact, they are almost the only men by whom the practical value of those inequalities in rank, which the rest of the American world deride, are admitted to be important. Every one, I suppose, is aware, that a ship of war whose discipline is not strict, especially in those branches of it which consist in keeping up strong lines of distinction amongst the officers, must, as a matter of course, be worse than useless; for, instead of being able to do the country honour, she cannot fail to bring it into disgrace, at moments of trial. Of the truth of these principles all parties in America are so well aware, that any tampering with naval discipline, whatever may be done in the army, has not been seriously thought of; consequently, a very rigid system—probably not too rigid, but still a very strict system—continues to be observed in their ships of war. The effect even of this, indeed, would be inconsiderable upon persons exposed to it only for a time; but when applied to the whole life, it must of necessity give a distinguishing character to the whole class subjected to its influence.

“ I have reason, indeed, to believe, from what I saw and heard, that the American discipline, especially as applied to officers, is more stern than in the British navy, and for a reason which, I think, will be admitted the instant it is stated. With us, the supply of officers comes from a society not only familiar with the theory of ranks, if I may say so, but practically acquainted with those artificial distinctions in authority, the acknowledgment of which forms the very life and soul of a fleet. Consequently, whether it be at first starting, or in after years of

professional life, naval officers with us meet with nothing, in their intercourse with general society on shore, to weaken the habit of subordination taught on board ship. The details of obedience may be different afloat and on shore—just as the duties are essentially different—but the principle of paying respect to the distinctions of rank, without any attendant feeling of degradation, is thus quite easily kept up amongst English officers, at all times and seasons, whether they be on the water or on land. But a young American officer, when he comes on shore to visit his friends, and goes to the back woods, or front woods, or any where, indeed, will hear more in one day to interfere with his lessons of dutiful subordination, than he may be able to recover in a year of sea service. Unless, therefore, the system of discipline on board be not only very strict, but of such a nature as to admit of no escape from its rules, the whole machinery would fall to pieces. Democracy, in short, with its sturdy equality, will hardly do afloat!

“I heard a story at Washington, which is in point to this argument. A midshipman of an American ship of war, having offended in some way or other against the rules of the service, fell, of course, under his captain's displeasure, and was reprimanded accordingly. The youth, however, not liking this exercise of authority, announced his intention of ‘appealing to the people;’ which determination was forthwith reported to head-quarters. By return of post an order came down to say, that Mr. So-and-so, being the citizen of a free state, had a perfect right to appeal to the people; and in order to enable him to proceed in this matter without official entanglement, his discharge from the navy was enclosed.

“Great care is taken in the selection of persons wishing to enter the navy; and these gentlemen are also exposed afterwards to frequent and rigorous examinations; by which means incompetent persons are excluded. Be the causes, however, as they may, I can only state, that the American naval officers are pleasant persons to associate with; and I reflect with great pleasure on the many professional acquaintances I was fortunate enough to make in that and other countries. I also look forward with equal confidence to meeting them again, being well assured, that whatever the nature of our intercourse may be—as national foes or as national allies, or merely as private friends—I shall have thoroughbred officers and gentlemen to co-operate or contend with.”—pp. 145—149.

A succinct and useful history of what is termed in the United States ‘the Presidential question,’ concludes with the following important observations:—

“Such then is the structure of the American constitution, in its two most important particulars—the Legislature and Executive. As to how far it is likely to be permanent, or how far the changes which have already been made both in the constitution itself, and in the practice of the states with respect to the mode of choosing a president, are wise or unwise, the ablest American authorities are divided in opinion. Indeed most parties admit that this branch of the constitution is open to im-

provement. 'The election of a supreme executive magistrate for a whole nation,' says a high authority, 'affects so many interests, addresses itself so strongly to popular passions, and holds out such powerful temptations to ambition, that it necessarily becomes a strong trial to public virtue, and even hazardous to the public tranquillity.'

"In short, the most important element in the whole fabric of the American Government, the key-stone of the arch, or that which all writers agree is the most dangerous to tamper with, is by no means well fixed in its place. It underwent a change, as I have already stated, so recently as 1804, by the twelfth amendment of the constitution; and as that alteration has not led to the practical improvements anticipated, the propriety of a further change is now one of the most common topics of discussion. From all I could hear, it seems by no means improbable that the choice of the president will ere long be made by a general ticket over the whole Union, without the intervention of any specific body of electors chosen in the states respectively. After which, the next step will be to abridge the period of holding the office, and not to allow of any re-election—both favourite projects at present."—pp. 264, 265.

A debate in Congress is reported in the author's very best manner.

"The motion seemed appropriate to the day, 8th of January, the anniversary of that victory; and there is no saying how far such a proposal might have been received, had it been left purely to his own merits. But this was not the course of any American debate which it was my fortune to hear.

"A gentleman, who was standing by me, asked what I thought of the suggestion; to which I answered, that there could be nothing more reasonable, and begged to ask in my turn, if he thought there could be any objection started in the House.

" 'Wait a little while,' said he, 'and you'll see; for,' he continued, 'you know the whole depends upon the presidential politics of the House?'

"I said I did not know.

" 'Surely,' he replied, 'you are aware that General Jackson is a candidate for the Presidency;—now, if this motion succeeds, it will be what is called "a sign of the times," and, so far as the opinion of Congress goes, will help on one side the grand object of all men's thoughts at this moment. But you will see ere long, that the Adams party will, in some way or other, entangle this question, and prevent its getting through the House. They are in a minority, it is true; but you are aware how much torment the weaker party can always give the stronger, if they set about it systematically. Indeed,' he observed, 'I should not be surprised if this little matter, which the good sense of the House, if it were fairly taken, would discuss and settle in ten minutes, may not, under the fiery influence of party spirit, last as many days; for there is no knowing beforehand whether a debate with us is to last a day, or a week, or even a month. So I beg you to watch the progress of this one.'

“The proposer of the measure concluded his speech by saying, that, as there could be no doubt of its adoption, he begged to propose Mr. Washington Alston, of Boston, as the artist who ought to execute the work, not only from his being the most skilful painter in the country, but from his being a native of the same State with General Jackson, namely, Tennessee.

“I had no notion that the debate would run off upon this point, because the gentleman named was, beyond all question, the best artist in America. Besides which, there was some address, I was told, in having pointed out an artist residing in the North, to perform the service; a degree of consideration which it was thought would conciliate the members from that quarter, who were mostly in favour of Mr. Adams.

“These small shot, however, failed to hit their mark, as will be seen by the following observations of a gentleman from one of the Eastern States, which I extract from the debate, as given in the *National Intelligencer*, chiefly to show their rambling style of discussion.

“He said he should not have risen, had not the resolution moved by the honourable gentleman from South Carolina designated the name of the artist to be employed. When it was recollected that Mr. Trumbull, the gentleman who had executed the paintings now in the Rotundo, was a native of the State which he represented on that floor, he trusted his honourable friend would excuse him if he ventured to suggest, that no course ought to be pursued, in this stage of the business, which went to exclude the employment of that venerable and patriotic individual in executing any paintings that might be ordered. If the artist to whom the gentleman had alluded, was a native of the same State with the hero of our second war, the artist he himself had named had been an actor in his own person in the war of the Revolution. He had been a prisoner, and had suffered severely in that contest; and he must be permitted to say, that great injustice had been done him, from the manner in which his paintings had at first been displayed. They were placed in a small and obscure room, beneath our feet, and the artist had the mortification to know, that the most unkind and most unfeeling strictures had there been passed upon them, in consequence of this their disadvantageous location. His fame had suffered, his feelings had suffered, and all his friends who knew the circumstances, had suffered with him. It was with pride and pleasure, he said, that he had witnessed their removal to a situation more worthy of their excellence, and he had witnessed the tears of joy glistening in his venerable eyes, under the consciousness that, at last, justice had been done him. He admitted, very willingly, the high merit of Mr. Alston; but, if Congress should conclude, in this matter, to depart from the class of our revolutionary worthies, there were other native artists, besides Mr. Alston, who would desire not to be precluded from a chance of employment. He therefore moved the following amendment:—To strike out the name of “Washington Alston,” and to insert the words “some suitable artist.”

“The debate for some time turned on the merits of this amendment, though it wandered every now and then into the presidential question,

and its innumerable ramifications, many of which were nearly unintelligible to a stranger. At length another Eastern State member rose, and cast amongst the disputants a new apple of discord, or rather a new sort of mystification and discursive eloquence. He said, 'that while he did not refuse to do homage to the great and acknowledged merit of Mr. Alston, he wished to suggest a further amendment of the resolution, which was,—"That it might be made to embrace the battles of Bunker's Hill, Monmouth, Prince Town, and the attack on Quebec."'

"This proposal, whether it were seriously intended for the consideration of the House or not, was followed by one obviously meant as a bitter jest against one of the parties in the House. In the State for which the member who spoke last was the representative, it appears there had been, during the late war with England, a disposition expressed by some persons for opening pacific negotiations with the enemy, or in some way thwarting the measures of government. A meeting, known by the name of the Hartford Convention, was accordingly assembled, at the very moment of the battle of New Orleans. The gentleman who now rose, therefore proposed to amend the amended amendment, by moving, 'That another painting be placed alongside that of the victory of New Orleans, representing this meeting, which was in full session at the same time.'

"Several members now made speeches, and most of them so entirely wide of the mark, that, I venture to say, any one coming into the House, and listening for half an hour, would not have been able to form a probable conjecture as to the real nature of the topic under discussion.

"Things were at last getting very heavy, when a little more spirit was thrown into the debate, by some one making a proposal for a further extension of the honours proposed. 'I have often thought,' said one of the gentlemen who addressed the House, 'that our naval victories were entitled to some notice, as well as the military exploits of the army, and that Congress could not better occupy several of the vacant panels in the Rotundo, than by filling them with some of the chivalrous triumphs of the navy, that had conferred so much honour and glory on the country. I hope, therefore, the navy will not be altogether forgotten on this occasion, and that the House will agree to adopt an amendment I shall offer, in the following words:—"That the resolution embrace such of the victories achieved by the navy of the United States, as in the opinion of Congress should be selected for national commemoration."' "

"I naturally felt some professional interest in this part of the debate, and was therefore greatly disappointed when a member got up and proposed an adjournment, although it was only two o'clock. The motion was lost—Ayes 91; Noes 92. But the hour allotted for the consideration of resolutions having expired, it was necessary, before resuming the debate, to move that the rule restricting this time be for this day suspended. The question being taken, the Ayes were 122, the Noes 76; and as the majority did not amount to two-thirds, the motion was lost, and the House adjourned.

"The same subject was taken up next day at noon, and discussed for four hours; during which time several new amendments were proposed,

including all the important battles that had been fought in that country, and many of which I had never heard the names before. The object of the members on both sides seemed to be merely to thwart, by every means, the wishes of their political antagonists, and to wear one another out by persevering opposition. This tenacity of purpose on trifles, is a game which can be played by any one, and at all times, as there is never a want of opportunity for provocation. Indeed, every man who has had to transact real business, must have found that, even when both parties really wish to have a matter settled, there must generally be some compromise—some mutual concession—something of what is familiarly called ‘giving and taking,’ in order to smooth away the difficulties incident to the very nature of our being, and the boundless complication in our interests. But when a deliberative body come to discuss a question in a spirit of avowed misunderstanding, without the smallest wish to agree, the result, as far as actual work is concerned, may easily be conceived. Yet I defy any imagination, however active, to form a just conception of the rambling and irritating nature of a debate in Congress, without actually attending the House of Representatives.”—vol. iii. pp. 50—57.

“Eventually the original motion came to be considered, after all the amendments had been demolished one after another. It likewise was lost by 103 against 98, which I was surprised at, as the Jackson party, the opposition, who brought it forward, had a clear majority in the House. But the subject had been so completely mystified and overloaded with extraneous matter during the debate, that there was no possibility of disentangling it from these burdens; and their darling objects, procrastination and speech-making, being accomplished, the original point, which went to make it a pure electioneering question, was soon entirely lost sight of.”—p. 59.

When the course of our traveller’s tour leads him into the great slave-holding States, Georgia and the Carolinas, he makes particular and detailed accounts of the condition of the unhappy cultivators of the soil. The number of negro slaves in the United States had been stated in the first volume.

“The numbers of the free and the slave population of the United States are given in Watterston’s tables, page 7, as follows:—

Whites and all other free persons, estimated to the	
1st of January, 1828	9,510,307
Slaves at the same date	1,838,155
<hr/>	
Total population	11,348,462

which shows that the slaves form very nearly one-sixth part of the whole.”—p. 139.

The distinguishing feature between American and British slaves is, that the former increase with great rapidity, while the latter are either nearly stationary, or decreasing. Captain Hall’s remarks upon the question respecting slavery in general, as well as upon the state and prospects of the American slaves in particu-

lar, are sensible; but they hold out little or no hope of a speedy abolition.

“The gentlemen of the South sometimes assert, that the slave population are rather happier than the labouring classes in the northern parts of their own Union, and much better off than the peasantry of England. There is no good purpose served by advancing such pretensions. They are apt to excite irritation, sometimes ridicule; and while they retard the cause of improvement, substantiate nothing in the argument, except the loss of temper. It signifies little to talk of the poor laws of England, or the pauperism in the great cities on the American coast; for, after all, such allusions apply to a small portion only of the labouring classes; whereas, in a slave-holding country, the whole working population are included in this humiliating description. For, as I before observed, it can be shown that a slave is merely a pauper—and a very thankless pauper too. Must he not be supported—and is he not in fact supported by others? Does not his situation superadd to the mischievous effects of ill-administered poor laws, many collateral evils which it is difficult to separate from the nature of slavery? Have not ignorance, irreligion, falsehood, dishonesty in dealing, and laziness, become nearly as characteristic of the slave, as the colour of his skin? And when these caste marks, as they may almost be called, are common to the whole mass of the labouring population of the States in question, it is certainly not quite fair to place them on a level with the free New Englanders of America, or the bold peasantry of Great Britain! That the slaves, taken in the aggregate, are better fed than many individual poor families in Great Britain, or in Ireland, may be true; but this holds as well in the case of cattle, and the fact proves no more in the one case, than in the other, for it is obvious enough that both cattle and slaves are fed with the same view—the mere maintenance of their physical force.

“I have not only heard this doctrine insisted upon in company—that the slaves are better off than the freemen alluded to—but I have seen it maintained in grave legislative resolutions. I must say, however, that nothing appeared to me so indiscreet, or more thoroughly fraught, unintentionally perhaps, with satire upon the whole system of public affairs in that country.

“So long as men, women, and children are kept in ignorance, under the positive mandate of the law—and are driven to the fields to work like cattle—so long as husbands and wives, and mothers and children, are liable to be sold, and actually are sold every day, to separate masters—and so long as no slave can select his place of residence, his taskmaster, or his occupation, or can give testimony in a court of justice, or legally hold any property, or exercise, by inherent birthright, any of the other functions of a reasonable creature—it certainly is very impolitic, to say the least of it, in the gentlemen of a country where the population are so circumstanced, to force the rest of the world upon such comparisons. The cause of the planters of the South may have, and I really think has, excellent ground to stand upon, if they would but keep to it steadily. But the slave-holders weaken the whole foundation of

their reasoning by such hollow pretences, as no reasonable person, even amongst themselves, can seriously maintain."—vol. iii. pp. 182—184.

"One of the results which actual observation has left on my mind is, that there are few situations in life where a man of sense and feeling can exert himself to better purpose than in the management of slaves. So far, therefore, from thinking unkindly of slave-holders, an acquaintance with their proceedings has taught me to respect many of them in the highest degree; and nothing, during my recent journey, gave me more satisfaction than the conclusion to which I was gradually brought, that the planters of the Southern States of America, generally speaking, have a sincere desire to manage their estates with the least possible severity. I do not say that undue severity is nowhere exercised; but the discipline, taken upon the average, as far as I could learn, is not more strict than is necessary for the maintenance of a proper degree of authority, without which the whole frame-work of society in that quarter would be blown to atoms. The first and inevitable result of any such explosion, would be the destruction of great part of the blacks, and the great additional misery of those who survived the revolt.

"The evils of slavery are, indeed, manifold. Take a catalogue of the blessings of freedom, and having inverted them all, you get a list of the curses of bondage. It is twice cursed, alas! for it affects both parties, the master and the slave. The slave, in bad hands, is rendered a liar and a thief, as a matter of course; he is often systematically kept in ignorance of all he ought to be acquainted with, from the truths of religion to the commonest maxims of morality;—he is sometimes treated like the beasts of the field, and like them, only better or worse, according to the accidental character of his proprietor. On the other hand, there is in our nature a mysterious kind of reaction, which takes place in all circumstances, from the oppressed to the oppressors, the result of which is, that no man can degrade another without, in some degree, degrading himself. In Turkey, for example, where the women are systematically debased—what are the men? I have the less scruple in taking this view of the matter, because it is one, which though not quite new to me, was brought to my notice on many occasions by the planters themselves, who, almost without exception, admitted to me with perfect frankness, that there was more or less of a deleterious effect produced on their own character by the unfortunate circumstances inseparable from their situation. They are compelled, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to maintain a system, often in the highest degree revolting to their better nature. Like officers on service, they are forced on many occasions to repress their best feelings, and act with a sternness of purpose, which, though every way painful to them, cannot be relaxed for one instant."—vol. iii. pp. 227—229.

"The idle things I have heard on the subject of slavery, by people who had not seen a dozen black men in their lives, have sometimes reminded me of a pompous fellow who pretended to be a great sailor, till being once cross-questioned as to what he would do in a gale of wind, if it were necessary to take in the main-topsail,—‘O, sir,’ said he, ‘I would man the tacks and sheets—let all fly—and so disarm the gale of

its fury !' Now, it is just in this fashion that many well-meaning people hope to disarm this hard slavery tempest of its terrors, by the mere use of terms which, in truth, have not the smallest application to the subject.

"The planters, who are men of business, and know better how to treat the question, set about things in a more workman-like style. Their first step is to improve the condition of the negro; to feed and clothe him better—take better care of him in sickness—and encourage him, by various ways, to work cheerfully. The lash, it is true, must still, I fear, be used; but it may be handled with more method, and less passion. These things, properly brought about, beget generous sympathies in both parties; for here, too, the reaction I spoke of formerly, soon shows itself—the slave works not only more, but to better purpose, and as the master feels it his interest, it soon becomes his pleasure to extend the system further—which again leads to fresh advantages, and fresh reactions, all of the same salutary description.

"The effect of better treatment raises the character of the slave, by giving him better habits, and thence invests him, not exactly with a positive or acknowledged right to such indulgencies, but certainly with a tacit or virtual claim to them. This is a great step in the progress of improvement; because the slave will now try, by good conduct, to confirm the favours he has gained, and to draw them into established usages. The master's profit, in a mere pecuniary point of view, arising out of this introduction of something like a generous motive amongst his dependents, I have the very best authority for saying, is in most cases indubitable. If experience proves that such consequences follow kind treatment, and that human nature is not dissimilar in the case of the blacks from what it is in every other, these advantages, which at first may be only casual, or contingent upon the personal character of a few masters, must in time become the usage over the plantations generally. Thus one more step being gained, fresh improvements in slave discipline—taking that word in its widest sense—would then gradually creep in under the management of wise and benevolent persons, whose example would, of course, be imitated, if the results were productive. This progress, I have strong reason to believe, is now in actual operation in many parts of America. Better domestic habits are daily gaining ground amongst the negroes, slowly but surely. More intelligence, better morals, and more correct religious feelings and knowledge, are also steadily making their way amongst that unfortunate race of human beings; and in no instance, I am told, have these improvements taken place without additional profit, and additional security, to the master."—vol. iii. pp. 234—237.

"It was my good fortune to observe, on more than one plantation, several excellent modifications of slave discipline, and at first I felt grieved to see their utility confined to insulated spots. But I learned in time to understand why it was best to keep things quiet, until the experiments in question, though very plausible in appearance, had been tried under a variety of circumstances. 'Then, but not till then,' said my friends, 'if these things really be good, they will gradually creep along, and be generally adopted by our brother slave-holders.'"—p. 240.

"Much is said in the South of the mischief done by the irksome and

persevering exertions of the abolitionists both in America and abroad; yet I question greatly if the evil arising from such attempts at interference be in fact considerable. In many cases, I have no doubt, they have done good, by compelling the slave-holders to look about them, and to disentangle themselves from some awkward accusations, originally, perhaps, but too well founded. In many instances, certainly, the charges made have been utterly false: while, in others, the accusations have been so true, that the planters have been in a manner forced to apply the proper remedies. In some instances, too, of which I heard more than once, the planters have actually come to a knowledge of abuses existing on their own property, of which they had no suspicion, till roused to investigate the matter by a wish to prove the falsehood of some of these very attacks.

"In concluding this important subject, I feel bound to say, that, as far as I could investigate the matter, the slave system of America seems to be in as good a condition—that is to say, in as fair a train for amelioration—as the nature of so dreadful a state of things admits of. With respect to external interference, the planters will probably not be the worse for an occasional hint, even though it be rude and unpalatable. On the other hand, the abolitionists must make up their minds to suffer great, and almost constant disappointments. Between the two, impartial and cool-headed men, who, without any particular views, sincerely wish well to their fellow-creatures—black as well as white—planters as well as slaves—will confine their hopes, and their exertions, to what they know is practicable, consistently with justice to all parties, and the laws of common sense."—vol. iii. pp. 246, 247.

But we must not borrow further from these amusing and instructive pages. The reader may be assured that many other passages may be found quite as worthy of notice as those which we have selected. The accounts of the cotton plantations, of the pine barrens, of the Indian game at ball, of the Mississippi at New Orleans, and of the voyage up that river by steam, are given in Captain Hall's best manner. All these, however, must be sought for in the work itself; and we must confine ourselves to some brief remarks upon the general execution of it, and upon its results.

There is one considerable fault, which runs through the greater part of the three volumes—a want of condensation. The information and entertainment communicated by Captain Hall, might be communicated almost always in fewer words than he has used; and sundry trite remarks upon the duties of a traveller are repeated more than once. Again, with respect to the merits and demerits of America, we cannot help feeling that on the latter head more is meant than meets the ear. In every state, and almost in every town, Captain Hall forms acquaintances and friendships with abundance of delightful people. And yet when he comes to speak of the general effect of Transatlantic laws,

customs and institutions, he condemns them *en masse* as productive of the gravest and most universal mischief. The only mode in which we can reconcile these apparently opposite opinions, is by supposing that he has refrained from noticing much that was objectionable in American society.

His strictures upon politics are also somewhat questionable. Captain Hall cannot be less partial to a democracy than we are. And we need say no more of our loyalty and churchmanship, than that we hope and believe they are as warm and sincere as his. But we doubt whether he has argued these important subjects in the manner best calculated to establish his own opinions, or to make converts of those who differ from him. It was hinted at the beginning of this article, that he was somewhat too fond of making comparisons between the United States and Great Britain. With a view to making peace between them this is injudicious; with a view to forming a just estimate of their constitutions, it is inconclusive. Such is the essential difference between the two countries, that it is unreasonable to condemn the institutions of the one because they would not suit the other. The political situation of America can never be truly ascertained by calculating the longitude from the meridian of Greenwich. Nothing but experience can enable men to speak, positively, respecting the consequences of a system so unlike every thing else that has been witnessed in the world. And if we confine ourselves to speculating upon probabilities, our speculations should be founded, not upon European practice, but upon the general principles of human nature. In short, such inquiries ought to be as profound as the sagacity of man can make them, and then in all probability they will fail of success. Superficial examination will more surely be disappointed, but may console itself by reflecting that it is disappointed at much less expense. The Americans repeatedly told Captain Hall, that he did not understand their public character. In this, we believe, they were wrong, for he seems to have formed a true estimate of it. But they had a plausible pretence for charging him with ignorance, because he rested his main objection to what he saw in the new country, upon the injurious effects which such things must produce in the old. How justly he thinks, and how forcibly he argues, respecting the nature and effect of the institutions of his own country, may be seen from the following extracts, with which we close our review. All we have meant to say in the foregoing strictures is, that such a mode of reasoning, unanswerable as it must always be in Europe, is not strictly or logically applicable to America.

“ ‘ At all events,’ said the American, ‘ I am sure you will admit, that if we are without loyalty, in your sense of it, we are greatly better off

than you, in having freed ourselves from the burden of an Established Church !'

" 'As I don't much like comparisons,' was my answer, 'I wish rather that you had put your questions about the Church as you did about loyalty.'

" 'Well, then, of what use is your Established Church?'

" 'It is infinitely useful,' I replied, 'in preserving the purity of religious doctrine, which ought to be the first consideration in every country;—and it is useful in alliance with the state, in maintaining the purity of political practice;—while, in private life, it is no less efficacious in giving confidence and uniformity to virtue, and true dignity to manners.'

" My friend opened his eyes, stared, but said nothing. Although he looked quite incredulous, I went on.

" 'The Established Church, by its numbers, its wealth and its discipline has acquired great power. I do not speak of the churchmen only you must understand, but include in the term that immense mass of the community, who, being as much in earnest as any churchmen can possibly be, co-operate with them, heart and hand, in preserving the Protestant religion in its purity. They are far too large a body, and too much scattered, to be influenced by any sudden wind of doctrine, and therefore they go on with a degree of regularity eminently conducive to right-mindedness in religious matters, not only as they are themselves affected, but as the whole community is affected. These influential members of the Church, indeed, are so thickly distributed, and as it were dovetailed into the framework of our social body, that society at large cannot move unless the Church goes along with it.'

" 'Yes, that is all very well for your Church of England people—but what say the dissenters?'

" 'They are, in my opinion, nearly as much benefited by the Establishment as any other members of the community.'

" 'How can that possibly be?'

" 'In this way. You will grant me that it is of great consequence to the dissenters that religion should be steadily and powerfully encouraged, or, if I am not using a word too familiar for the occasion, should be made the permanent fashion of society; by which I mean, that it should not be allowed to descend from its proper station, or be considered in any light but as the first and most important of all our duties. Now, I conceive the influence of the Established Church applies here with great force, and affords as it were a defence to the general cause of religion, similar to what the ocean does to the island in which we live. Besides which, the Church not only exhibits a magnificent example of religious doctrine, but furnishes a model of clerical manners and learning, which in practice—I beg you to observe most particularly—is tacitly admitted to be so eminently characteristic of the service of such a cause, that no sectarian has any chance of success, unless more or less he acquire the knowledge and adopt the habits of this great pattern. I can say with perfect truth, that after having seen a good deal of the world, I do not believe there is any other instance of so large a body of men, amongst whom there will be found such exemplary purity of manners and of conduct in

all respects, as in that of our clergy. Exceptions will and must occur as long as our nature is imperfect. But whether the character which I have ascribed to the clergy in general be caused by the nature of their duties, or spring from their interests, or be created and continued by long habit, such is the fact. Upon the whole, there is, perhaps, no greater blessing which England enjoys than that of having so many men, whose conduct and attainments are undoubtedly far above the average, established as permanent residents all over the country.'

" 'Yes,' said he, 'this looks very fine; but again I ask, what do the sectarians themselves say?'

" 'I do not know,' I replied, 'what they say; but I believe I may venture to assert that every sensible man amongst them knows right well, that if the Established Church were gone, they must go too. Any political tempest that should shake the Establishment, might, in the first instance, tear the sectarians to pieces. The sectarians, therefore, of every denomination, are very wise to accept, and are happy to enjoy, her noble shelter in the meantime. They have also, I am well convinced, much pride and pleasure in the companionship; for there must be at heart the deepest sympathy between them. They are rooted in one common earth, and although their altitude may, to appearance, be somewhat different, they all lift their heads to one common sky.'

" 'This I can partly understand,' he said; 'but what possible good can arise from the union of Church and State? Is not the expense of the Establishment a very great weight to the country?'

" 'Surely it is; but so is the ballast to a ship; and without it she would upset. To spread canvass alone is not to sail fast, or, at all events, is not the way to ensure the object of the voyage. And so it is with governments. Both statesmen and seamen must have something unseen to counterpoise their external exertions; otherwise they inevitably run adrift, and mar the fairest opportunities of advancing the public service.'—vol. iii. pp. 398—402.

" 'In this sense the Church may be said to act the part of the fly-wheel in a great engine. By its ponderous inertia, it prevents the machinery from flying forwards upon any sudden accession to the impelling power; and, in like manner, when the nation begins to grow languid or indifferent to its duties, the same irresistible momentum carries on the movement with admirable uniformity—so that the whole proceeds with smoothness and consistency, in spite of the inequalities of the force applied, or of those in the work to be performed. Statesmen of extraordinary talents do sometimes rise up, and carry all before them so completely for a little while, that casual observers might, upon these occasions, fancy the Church tottered, or that its influence was essentially lessened. But the tide of opinion, which has only ebbed a little, is sure to make again, and, as it flows, to bear back the country with it—simply because those principles, which direct the stupendous authority alluded to, are integral parts of the national character, and, I may add, of our nature itself. They have been collected together from the experience of all ages, and they are embodied with us in that particular form which seems best adapted to the practice of those duties which religion inculcates.'—pp. 403, 404.

“ ‘ To borrow one more illustration from the sea, I should say, that the Established Church may be compared to the rudder, and the country, with its multifarious arrangements of society, to the ship. Nothing on board—below or aloft—tall masts, spreading sails, angry cannon, the ungovernable elements, or still more contentious crew, can be turned to proper account if the helm be neglected. So it is with the regular, almost unseen instrumentality of the Church in State affairs; and such is the mutual advantage between it and the country.’ ”—pp. 405, 406.

ART. VIII.—*The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D. illustrative of various Particulars in his Life hitherto unknown; with Notices of many of his Contemporaries; and a Sketch of the Ecclesiastical History of the Times in which he lived.* Edited, from the Original MSS., by his Great-Grandson, John Doddridge Humphreys, Esq. London: Colburn and Bentley. 2 vols. 8vo.

FATHERS and mothers are, for the most part, well aware of the annoyance to which they may be subjected by imprudent sons or daughters; and a long-sighted parent also feels that grandchildren may, by possibility, bring dishonour upon his grey hairs. But there are few who look far enough into futurity to discern what may be effected in the course of a century by the indiscretion of a great-grandson. It is in this relation that the editor of the work before us stands towards Dr. Doddridge, and the wound which has been inflicted by a pious hand upon the memory of a respected ancestor, is enough to put every man upon his guard against the effects of a meddling, busy-body spirit, entering into possession even of his remotest descendants.

It happens that Dr. Doddridge deserves and enjoys a very uncommon reputation. He is one of the very few Non-conformists who, during the long period of a hundred and sixty years, have established a permanent theological reputation in this country. His devotional and practical works, although founded upon the doctrine of the Puritans, not of the Church of England, are much and deservedly esteemed, and his Family Expositor is to be found in almost every library. There is no disposition in any quarter to depreciate the character or the remains of such a man. But we cannot understand how that character is to be raised by presenting the public with the manifold follies contained in Mr. Humphreys's volumes. The advocates for Dr. Doddridge may plead in his defence, that most of the absurdities brought to light by his great-grandson were perpetrated in early youth. And there is much weight in the plea. In fact, it would put an end to the whole case, were it possible to explain why copies of such childish

productions should have been taken and preserved. As a record of all the silly things which a young man said and did, the work is one of those detestable panders to the gossiping appetite of the day, against which grave persons of all classes would do well to protest. As a mirror which reflects many peculiar features of the Nonconformist countenance, both in former ages and in our own, some little interest attaches to the publication, though the result of it will be very different from that which is anticipated by Mr. Humphreys. We shall present our readers with a few specimens first of the polite and facetious, and secondly, of what may perhaps be termed the Ecclesiastical portion of the correspondence.

The Table of Contents prepares the reader for something out of the common way. The seventh letter, addressed to a young lady, is said to be "more amusing than important." "Some account of the Divinity course at Kibworth," is immediately followed by an epistle to a second young lady, in which the youthful preacher "sportively assumes the filial relation, and with due gravity affects to entreat her advice on some singular points of etiquette; to which is subjoined a confession more frank than ears maternal are wont to receive." A letter to Mrs. Banks on private devotion is succeeded by another to Miss Farrington, in which he "tenderly upbraids her silence, and relates the incident of having composed verses in a dream." To Miss Hannah Clark the Doctor is "tender and pathetic." In short, he is by fits "sportive and affectionate;" "affectionate and pious;" "polite and friendly;" "tender and respectful;" "tender, candid, and deliberate;" "polite and pious;" "laconic, but circumstantial;" "kind, but firm;" "direct and forcible," and "ironical within the verge of friendship." Whatever Dr. Doddridge and his letters may be, the ruling passion of his descendant may be ascertained from these samples of his handywork. "It is affectations." But we must draw the curtain, and introduce our young Nonconformist minister in *propria personâ*.

TO MRS. REBECCA ROBERTS.

April 7, 1722.

"MADAM,

"I am charmed with the honour you do me in making me your correspondent. I have just been reading over your letter for the twentieth time; and I profess, without the least shadow of a compliment, that it is written with so much gaiety, wit, and good-nature, that I do not know how to make you the acknowledgments it deserves. I am now setting myself to scribble something in return; but as it is impossible to come up to your spirit, either in writing or conversation, I shall lay aside all pretension to wit and humour, and think myself very happy if I can talk common sense.

"My dear mamma has so much personal merit, and has always treated me with so much goodness, that it is impossible I should not be

very much concerned to hear she has been indisposed. But really, madam, you take the readiest way to comfort me in my affliction; and I cannot so heartily lament the indisposition of Mrs. Farrington herself, now it has laid a foundation for a correspondence with Mrs. Roberts. I assure you, madam, that as Sancho Pancha said to the duchess, who once drew back, 'I stick like a bur;' and as for the future, I shall always pay my respects to my mamma and my aunt at the same time; so I hope, whenever she favours her son with a line, or rather we will say with a hundred lines, it will be the best way to enter into articles with her, and allow myself to converse with her one hour in a day with the utmost freedom, and then I fancy she will be contented. However, madam, I will try the method you propose, and in a few days you shall be informed of the success.

"Your rules of behaviour are certainly very judicious. But the business of kissing wants a little further explanation. You tell me the ladies have resigned their claim to formal kisses at the beginning and end of visits. But I suppose they still allow of *extemporary* kissing; which you know a man may be led into by a thousand circumstances which he does not foresee. I cannot persuade myself that this pretty amusement is entirely banished out of the polite world, because, as the Apostle says in another case, even nature itself teaches it. I would not for the world be so unmannerly as to ask my aunt, whether she has not been kissed within this fortnight; but I hope I may rely on her advice, and that she will not deceive me in a matter of such vast importance. For my own part, I can safely say, I look upon this, as well as the other enjoyments of life, with a becoming moderation and indifference. Perhaps, madam, I could give you such instances of my abstinence as would make your hair stand on end! I will assure you, aunt, which is a most amazing thing, I have not kissed a woman since Monday, July 10th, 1721, about twelve o'clock at night; and yet I have had strong temptations both from within and from without. I have just been drinking tea with a very pretty lady who is about my age. Her temper and conversation are perfectly agreeable to mine, and we have had her in the house about five weeks. My own conscience upbraids me with a neglect of a thousand precious opportunities that may never return. But then I consider, that it may be a prejudice to my future usefulness, and help me into farther irregularities (not to say, that she has never discovered any inclination of that nature), and so I refrain. But to-morrow I am to wait upon her to a village about a mile and a half from Kibworth, and I am sensible it will be a trying time. However, I shall endeavour to fortify my mind against the temptations of the way by a very careful perusal of your letter, and my mamma's of the 31st of October.

"I am extremely glad that it is but three weeks to the beginning of our vacation; for I long to see you, and my relations at Bethnal Green, with an impatience that I know not how to express. I wish, madam, I could fix the day when I am first to wait on you, that you might take care to be undressed to receive me. You know it is my misfortune to be extremely out of countenance at the sight of a fine suit of clothes,

especially when an agreeable lady appears in them. I am sensible this is a weakness that every minister of the Gospel ought to endeavour to conquer, if he expects his labours should meet with any success, and accordingly I have been using the means. The lady whom I mentioned above is very decent all the week, but, according to our country fashion, dresses best on a Sunday; and so I spend an hour every Sunday morning in looking upon a sort of habit which they call a brocade, which she generally wears on that day. But I have still some dreadful apprehensions of seeing you dressed, and I hope you will mercifully provide against them. I am charmed with the thoughts of spending another day with my cousin Robson; but then you tell me I must furnish myself with something to make my company agreeable. Alas! madam, you quite mistake my abilities. My modesty and other imperfections instruct me to be on the obscure side; and at best you know there is very little gallantry to be expected from a scholar. I have not had an opportunity of making many observations upon the female world; but I am ready to imagine, from the little I have seen, that a man may have read all Aristotle's works, except his Masterpiece, and all Plato's, but his pun upon kissing, and yet not be at all fit to entertain a room full of ladies. However, there is a book called the *Lady's Cabinet Opened*, and another *Callipædia*, which, it seems, they are extremely fond of; and I design to set apart a whole week before the vacation for the perusal of them. But I am afraid they will not carry me completely through; and so I think to wait upon you and mamma the first week that I come to town; then, madam, you will fix the time of my meeting with my cousins, and give me some instructions how to entertain them; which will be received with the utmost respect and observance by, Madam,

Your most dutiful Nephew,
and obedient humble Servant,

P. DODDRIDGE.

"P.S. My homily upon Love is not yet finished; so far from that, it is not yet begun. I am very sorry that you would not favour me with your thoughts upon a subject to which it is impossible you should be a stranger. I am forced to go about it without any manner of female assistance, and so I am afraid I shall make but little of it. However, I shall go to work in a few days, and hope when I come to London that it will be ready to kiss your fair hands. My humble duty to mamma: service to my sister and cousin Robson. You tell me they have been nearer Death than Marriage. Poor ladies! I am extremely glad they are recovered; and hope that they were spared in mercy to the rising generation. I remember I viewed their eyes with a great deal of attention, and could not discover any danger of death to themselves, though there might be a great deal to those that gazed at them without very philosophical precaution. When I see them again I will take them under more exact examination. In the meantime, madam, take care of your own eyes, which seem calculated to do a world of mischief."—vol i. pp. 107—111.

' There is another letter much to the same effect in the second

volume, and it is of some importance in the history of this part of Dr. Doddridge's life. A matrimonial engagement with Miss Catharine Freeman had been recently broken off by the lady, who was "most unreasonably jealous" of his attention to a certain Miss Jennings. The Doctor and his Great-Grandson affirm that the latter attachment was purely platonic; and the following letter (vol. ii. pp. 130, 131.) is introduced as a proof, we presume, of this fact.

"TO MISS JENNINGS.

June 25th, 1726.

"MY DEAR,

"I am obliged to you for your letter, and in the main I thank you for it. But I believe you may easily see by my looks that I thought there was a little too much severity in it. For my own part I admire you so much, and love you so dearly, that I cannot bear to hear you find fault with me without some discomposure and uneasiness. However, it is worth our while to bear the trouble of hearing of our faults, as it may be the means of engaging us to correct them.

"As for kissing, I frankly acknowledge there is something very impertinent in it occasionally, that is, when it recurs *too* frequently, (though, when you called it a mean thing, there was an air of gravity and superiority, which would have looked much more graceful in mamma!) But you abundantly atone for it in blushing while you read this. However, I plainly tell you, that you are so pretty, and I am so fond, that I must and will have a kiss now and then; nor is there any way of curing me of the inclination, but by putting on a very demure face when you have no provocation, except you complain of being too much beloved, and then indeed it will be a most friendly remedy. Yet, as fond of that genteel amusement as you may imagine me, I never languish for the kiss of a frowning fair! I conclude this important head, with begging that my dear little girl would soon be as indulgent in her grants, as I am moderate in my demands.

"By the by, I have a pepper-corn of advice for you; and that is, that you go to bed sooner than you commonly do. This may have a good influence both on your health and your temper; for I have frequently observed, that about forty minutes after eight the dear little infant begins to grow pettish for want of sleep, and can hardly persuade herself to bestow one smile upon her humble servant, who perhaps for the former part of the day has been her happy favourite.

P. DODDRIDGE."

But enough of kissing, let us turn to Nonconformity. The extraordinary merits of popular election in the appointment of ministers, and the absence of all intrigue, jealousy, or other worldly motives, may be satisfactorily established from the following portions of Doddridge's confidential correspondence with his friends and advisers. He was invited when a very young man to settle at Coventry as assistant to a Mr. Warren. The breaking off of the negotiation is related in the following terms.

" TO MR. CLARK.

May 23, 1723.

" REV. SIR,

" I have received your letter, and am very glad to hear that you concur with me in your sentiments with relation to Coventry. I still think, that if the people had been all of one mind, it would have been as agreeable a settlement as I could have desired ; but Providence had ordered it otherwise, and I have determined for Kibworth, and hope you will not disapprove of my choice when you hear the reasons for it.

" There are some people at Coventry of considerable interest, and very active, that are nearly related to Mr. Smith, and have always been very desirous that he should assist Mr. Warren. I was told by several considerable persons that he had now given up this project, perceiving that the main body of the congregation could not possibly be brought to fall in with it ; but they have since taken up a new scheme, by which they hope to carry their point ; which is, that none should be concerned in the choice of an assistant but those that subscribe twenty shillings a year. It is certain that the rest of the people upon whom the salary principally depends, will never be persuaded to consent to this ; and if they should, it is at least an equal chance that Mr. Smith would not be chosen upon these terms ; but I perceived it would be some time before the affair was determined, so that I thought I could not honourably keep the Kibworth people any longer in suspense."—vol. i. pp. 234, 235,

The conduct of Doddridge in this, and, indeed, on all similar occasions appears to have been perfectly proper. But the little flock of conscientious dissenters were actuated by motives which we do not care to name. Nor is this a singular instance of the spirit in which the Nonconformist congregations were supposed, or we might perhaps say, known to act.

" TO THE REV. SAMUEL CLARK.

" REVEREND SIR,

Jan. 21, 1728.

" I may well be ashamed to think how long I have delayed answering your last, by Mr. Auther, which was equally kind and instructive, but I have an apology which is more weighty than I could have wished. I never went through a greater variety of perplexing events in my life than since the beginning of the last month. I have not time to give you a particular history of them, which would easily fill several sheets ; and it is the less necessary that I should, as I am not without some hope of seeing you at St. Albans in a few weeks ; and so I will content myself with telling you, in a general way, that I was sent for to Nottingham by the Independent church there, and while I was making them a visit to enquire into the circumstances of the affair, I had a proposal privately offered me of a settlement with Mr. Hughes and Mr. Whitlock, at the great meeting, on terms which, I thought, would have been a means of uniting the breaches amongst them, which are now grown wider than ever. In these circumstances,

by Mr. Some's advice, I declined the invitation from Mr. Bateson's church, which I should not indeed have accepted, had no such proposal been made from the others; but the thing now rests in an entire silence, and it is strongly suspected by some who are my very good friends, that the overture from the other congregation was made with a politic design of preventing my fixing with Mr. Bateson, which would probably have drawn off some considerable persons from them.

"I have the satisfaction of having acted a very disinterested and friendly part in the whole affair, but am very uncertain how it will end.

"It is my happiness to be very easy at home, my friends and my books give me such agreeable entertainments as leave me but little to wish for as to this world, except the enjoyment of your company and of such a wife as Mrs. Clark. In the mean time, sir, I rejoice in the thought of your happiness, and most heartily wish its continuance, being with sincerest respect and affection,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most humble Servant,

PHILIP DODDRIDGE."—vol. ii. p. 408.

It may be said that the suspicions of the writer were on this occasion unfounded, and perhaps they were. But his observations acquaint us with the opinion entertained among dissenting ministers themselves, respecting the method of their appointment. A letter from the Doctor Samuel Clark of St. Albans, Doddridge's great friend and instructor, may serve to put the matter in a still clearer light.

"I understand that you have been appointed to preach at Nottingham, and that before you came the body of the people were for Mr. Hughes. I am sorry to hear he has met with such ill treatment, and that attempts are made to blast his character by a forged letter, in the name of several of the ministers at London, which occasioned an application to me for his true character, when I did him justice. It gives a sad prospect when such methods are made use of in the choice of ministers. I assure myself, from the part you have done upon other occasions, that you will employ all your interest and influence for the promoting of peace and union."—vol. ii. p. 438, 439.

We find in the sequel that Dr. Clark's information proved incorrect. His experience however had taught him to credit the scandalous tale which has been quoted, and doubtless there have been instances to justify his credulity.

At p. 450 of vol. ii. we have an example of political interference in the call of a dissenting teacher.

"The affairs of Northampton are undetermined. Mr. Tingey seemed inclined to return to them after he had left them, and concealed his dismissal for some time, but that is a great secret. I am well assured, but was much surprised to hear, that my Lord Halifax's

resentment of the part which Mr. Tingey acted in the last election at Northampton, was at the bottom of his removal, and turned the scales. So strangely are the most distant events connected."

Poor Doddridge had other troubles to encounter, besides those arising from Miss Kitty's jealousy, Miss Jennings's pettishness, or the cabals of the various congregations with whom he entered into correspondence. He was condemned by the Calvinists for his moderation; and a most orthodox clerk at Kettering absented himself from chapel when Doddridge preached, lest his ears should be polluted by the sound of some of "good old Mr. Baxter's divinity." On another occasion the wise men of Ware declined inviting him to be their pastor, because he used the Lord's Prayer. On some other occasion it is reported that his sermon consisted of little more than a repetition of "Do, do, do:"—the very antipodes it would appear to the preacher, who, not many years ago preached in Doddridge's town, Northampton, (alas! from the pulpit of a Church,) and having asked with the affrighted jailer, "What shall I do to be saved?" answered, "*Do!* why, do nothing."

In short, Doddridge's good sense, moderation, Christian charity, and zeal, would have made him a valuable minister of the Church of England if he had not been born a Nonconformist. The volumes before us, ridiculous as they are, must tend to raise the character of the principal personage concerned in the opinion of every candid reader. We find that he was imperfectly educated, egregiously flattered, and eminently successful, yet was he a modest, laborious man, truly devoted to God and godliness; and only to be pitied for being the progenitor of a gentleman, who has deemed it expedient to publish his love-letters, and for being mixed up with the vulgarity, intolerance, and intrigues of the Dissenters.

ART. IX.—*A Charge delivered in July, 1829, at Stokesley, Thirsk, and Malton, to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Cleveland; and printed at their request. By the Ven. and Rev. Leveson Venables Vernon, M.A. Stokesley.*

MR. VERNON has devoted the greater portion of this Charge to the subject of the *Clergy Mutual Assurance Society*, and the Institution cannot be more satisfactorily ascertained than from his perspicuous and forcible exposition of it.

"For these reasons, and in order that the Clergy, like the brethren at Thessalonica, may 'walk honestly towards them that are without and have lack of nothing:' a Society has been recently instituted, whose object is to facilitate and encourage a system of insurance among them,

which, by the sacrifice of a small annual payment, will secure to them a certain provision against the accidents to which flesh is heir. It is denominated the *Clergy Mutual Assurance Society*, and is recommended by the patronage of all our Bishops, as well as aided by their subscriptions; the advantages which it offers to a Clergyman whose income is small, will be best explained by considering them under two heads:—first, with respect to himself; and secondly, with respect to his family. With respect to himself, he is liable to be disabled from the performance of his duty by sickness; what then is to be done? for a time he may obtain assistance from his friends and neighbours: but if its duration be unfortunately prolonged, they cannot continue it without too much neglecting their own duties: it is necessary therefore to engage some one who looks for remuneration; but he has nothing to spare for this purpose out of an income which is not more than sufficient for his ordinary needs. If any one be alarmed at such a prospect, as doubtless he reasonably may, the remedy is at hand: by paying a certain annual sum to the Society, he will be relieved from any apprehensions on this subject. For instance, by the payment of £1 9s. 6d. every year, from his first entrance into orders, he may ensure an allowance at the rate of £52 during the whole continuance of his illness as far as his seventieth year: after which other regulations offer him similar advantages. But when *that* period arrives, which the Psalmist considered the ordinary limit of human life, other anxieties arise; unless God has blessed him with a vigour unnatural to his years, the veteran soldier of Christ may feel that his strength is wasted, and his activity has passed away, and he is no longer capable of exertions which once were only a light labour to him, while the full tide of health flowed through his youthful veins. He may feel the sad conviction that his performance of the Service is becoming painful both to himself and to his flock; that the indistinctness of his utterance, or the feebleness of his voice, is destroying his usefulness in the pulpit; that, in short, his increasing infirmities disable him from attending as much as he could wish to the duties of his parish, and consequently he may desire to resign a situation, the functions of which he cannot satisfactorily discharge; but how can he afford it? the living may not supply a sufficient provision for him, if a salary is to be taken out of it for the maintenance of a curate; or if he chance himself to be a curate, he is left destitute of all resource for the future. He who wishes to secure himself from the disagreeable and perplexing contingency which I have described, may guard against it by an assurance: if, for instance, he pays £1 11s. 6d. annually, from the age of twenty-one, he is entitled to an annuity of £52 a year, after the age of seventy; and what if God should take him away before that period arrives—he has the consolation on his death-bed of reflecting, that he has been contributing to the relief of his aged brethren, as they would done to his, if his life had been prolonged.

“I now come to the second class of advantages offered to the clergy, by the scheme of mutual assurance; those advantages which relate more immediately to their families. The apprehension of leaving a wife or children behind, without any means of support, or at least, with means

very inadequate to their necessities, must wring the heart of many an anxious parent : however much he may resolve to save out of his small income by painful self-denial, yet, after all, the precarious tenure by which we hold our lives must make success uncertain ; but even should he ultimately succeed in securing a certain provision for them, success may have been purchased at too dear a cost : if an excess of solicitude, which it is easier to reprehend than to restrain, prevents him from exemplifying the liberality which it is his business to inculcate ; if the sway of domestic affection closes the hand which charity calls upon him to open ; if his usefulness is curtailed, and his influence impaired, and his ministry less regarded from these causes, the private advantage will doubtless have been purchased too dear, at the expense of detriment to the church of Christ. But suppose the object attained ; suppose that a provision is secured for the widow or the orphan ; yet when the day arrives which must reduce them to that desolate condition, it may be seriously diminished by the heavy charges incidental to their removal from a place which is no longer their home ; and perhaps the expense of a long sickness and a sad funeral is to be defrayed : and then there is the charge for dilapidations ; a charge which ought indeed, both in prudence and in justice, to be kept low by constant attention to repairs : but sometimes this is forgotten, and sometimes the necessity is unnoticed and unknown, till the valuer brings his estimate. He who wishes to save his family from these inconveniences, at a time when he will no longer be able to assist them personally, may ensure 50*l.* at his death, by the annual payment of about 1*l.* from his first entrance into orders ; or any multiple of 50*l.* at the same rate, as far as 500*l.* During his lifetime the principal embarrassments that affect a clergyman, with respect to his family, are the education of his children, the means of setting his sons forward in the world, on account of the expense attending their entrance into most professions, and creditable branches of business, and of providing something in the shape of dowry for his daughters : these are heavy burthens upon a small life income, and may occasion considerable distress in various ways, if no fund is reserved for such purposes : here then the Mutual Assurance Society steps in to his assistance, and offers no small advantages to a provident father :—for instance, the payment of about 18*l.* at once, on the birth of a child, or the annual payment of a guinea and a half, entitles the child to an endowment of 50*l.* at the age of twenty one ; a premium somewhat higher entitles him to the same sum at the age of fourteen. This assurance may be effected by any of the child's friends, or relations, who are interested in its behalf as well as by the parents ; and it is a very liberal rule of the Institution, that if a person dies having endowed a child, and no one is willing to continue to pay the annual premiums, all the annual premiums which may have been paid for the endowment will be returned for the benefit of the child, if living, at the time the endowment would have become due.

“ So far all the benefits which I have detailed depend solely upon the system of Mutual Assurance, and are regulated by calculation, and recommended by motives of prudence ; and doubtless there are many to whom such facilities of escaping from some of the sorest ills that beset

their path through life will be acceptable in a high degree : but are they the only persons interested ? are they who still cannot afford to avail themselves of its terms excluded from the Society ? or are their wealthier brethren unconcerned in its establishment, because they need not its assistance ? I should scarcely have thought it necessary to occupy your attention so long with its details, if that had been the case ; but associated as we are in the same Ministry of the Gospel, and brethren in the same family of Christ's Church, surely we are linked together by stronger ties than prudence : to use the argument of St. Paul, we are all ' Members of one body,' and should ' have care one for another,' and ' whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.'—(1 Corinthians, xii. 26.) And if it is expected of all who are rich in this world, that they be ready to give and glad to distribute, much more is it incumbent upon those who are Ministers of Christ to aid their brethren by voluntary contributions.

" The views of the Society upon this subject I will give in their own words :—' As the intent of this Society is to comprehend within itself Assured Members *from all classes* of the Clergy, and as only those in better circumstances may be enabled to make full provision by adequate Assurances, it is proposed to raise a distinct Fund by means of Legacies, Donations, and annual Voluntary Subscriptions, to be called " the Fund in aid," so that Clergy with small incomes and large families, may be assisted in making their Assurances ; and be provided, as well as their Wives, Widows, and Children, with other advantages when occasion may require.' Thus then the gates of charity are thrown open to all—to some as contributors—to others as receivers : but it is a charity subservient to prudence ; it is a charity which gives no encouragement to thoughtlessness or extravagance, nor hurts the feelings of any to whom its advantages are extended ; it is a charity which, co-operating with a little timely care, will relieve many of the servants of Christ from that distressing thought for the morrow which their Master forbids :—for he who has adopted the precautions which a wise foresight dictates, may trust his affairs to Providence with cheerfulness and confidence ; and though evil days may arrive unforeseen, yet it will be sufficient to groan under them when the storm bursts ; for sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof : and in the mean time, he will run his race with greater alacrity and finish his course with greater joy, when free from the load of apprehensions with which the infirmities of nature, and the cares of a family, so often clog the heart."

We sincerely hope that Archdeacon Vernon's benevolent wishes may be accomplished ; and that the Clergy in general may be convinced of the manifold advantages of the system which he so ably explains and recommends.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Margate, Trinity, C. . .	Kent . .	Francis Barrow .	Vic. of Margate.
York.			
Flintham, V. . . .	Notts . .	Chas. John Myers	Trin. Coll. Cambridge.
Golcar, C.	W. York .	T. B. Holt . .	Vic. of Huddersfield.
Middleton, V. and } Old Byland, C. . . }	N. York .	C. Mackereth . }	Archd. Wrangham, Rev. A. Cayley, and Dr. T. Smith.
Weaverthorpe, V. . .	E. York .	W. Cockburn .	The Dean & Chapter.
Weston, V.	W. York .	Wm. Carter . }	Governors of Sedberg Gram. School.
London.			
Christ Church, New- gate Street, V. and } St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, R. . . . }	Middlesex .	Geo. Preston . }	Governors of St. Bar- tholomew Hospital, and Dn. and Ch. of Westminster, <i>alt.</i> The latter this turn.
Paddington, P. C. . .	Middlesex .	A. M. Campbell	The Lord Bishop.
Shenfield, R.	Essex . .	Mr. Yorke . .	Countess de Grey.
Durham.			
Heddon-on-the- Walls, V. . . . }	Northumb.	J. A. Blackett .	Lord Chancellor.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Archdeaconry in } Cath. Church of } Monk Sherborne, <i>V.</i> } Warlingham, <i>V. with</i> } Chelsham, <i>C.</i> } }	Winchester Hants . . Surrey . .	C. James Hoare J. B. Maude . . John Dalton } }	The Lord Bishop. Queen's Coll. Oxford. A. D. Weyvill, Esq. a minor.
Bangor.			
Llangwyfan, <i>R.</i> . .	Denbigh .	R. L. A. Roberts	The Lord Bishop.
Bath and Wells.			
Winford, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	F. H. Brickenden	Worcester Coll. Oxon.
Bristol.			
Bridport, <i>R.</i> . . . } (by Dispensation.) } Hinton Martel, <i>R.</i> . . }	Dorset . . Dorset . .	R. Broadley . . J. Hampden . .	Earl of Ilchester. Earl of Shaftesbury.
Chester.			
Field Broughton, <i>C.</i> . . Northenden, <i>R.</i> . . . Over Darwen, <i>C.</i> . . .	Lancaster . Chester . . Lancaster .	Wm. Wilson . . John Pedder . . G. Park	Ld. G. A. H. Cavendish. Dean and Chapter. Vic. of Blackburn.
Chichester.			
Barlavington, <i>R. and</i> } Egdean, <i>R.</i> . . . } }	Sussex . .	John Crosthwaite	Earl of Egremont.
Ely.			
West Wratting, <i>V.</i> . .	Cambridge .	J. T. Watson .	The Dean & Chapter.
Exeter.			
Ashreigny, <i>R.</i> Buckerell, <i>V.</i> Churstow, <i>V. with</i> } Kingsbridge, <i>V.</i> } } Exeter, St. Mary Ma- } jor, <i>R.</i> } }	Devon . . Devon . . Devon . . Devon . . Devon . . Cornwall . Cornwall . Devon . . Devon . . Cornwall . Devon . . Devon . . Devon . .	Geo. Johnson . . E. Ellis Coleridge Francis Pott . . J. F. Turner . . Wm. Cha. Hill . Richard Buller . Henry Dyke . . P. D. Foulkes . R. T. Bradstock Henry Wright .	Rev. G. Johnson. Dean and Chapter. Lord Chancellor. Dean and Chapter. Rev. W. C. Hill. John Buller, Esq. J. Buller, Esq. Lord Chancellor. W. W. Woodward, Esq. Dn. & Ch. of Sarum.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Gloucester.			
Brimsfield, <i>R. with</i> } Cranham, <i>R.</i> . . }	Gloucester .	Wm. Moore . .	Mrs. Pitt.
Newcastle-under- Lyne, St. George's, <i>C.</i> }	Stafford . .	J. H. Cotterill .	P. C. of Newcastle.
Swindon, <i>R.</i> . . . }	Gloucester .	Samuel Raymond	Rev. W. Romney.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Uttoxeter, <i>V.</i> . . . }	Stafford . .	C. F. Broughton	D. & Cns. of Windsor.
Vicarial Stall in Cath. } Church of . . . }	Lichfield .	T. G. Parr . .	The Lord Bishop.
Winkworth, <i>V.</i> . . . }	Derby . .	E. S. Remington	Dean of Lincoln.
Lincoln.			
Barkston, <i>R.</i> . . . }	Lincoln . .	Hen. Cleveland }	Preb. of N. Grantham, in Cath. Church of Sarum.
Prebendal Stall in the } Cath. Church of . }	Lincoln . .	Rev. E. Smedley	The Lord Bishop.
Hoggeston, <i>R.</i> . . . }	Bucks . .	Rich. Grape, M.A.	Worcester Coll Oxon.
Leicester, St. Martin, <i>V.</i>	Leicester .	Hon. H. D. Erskine	Lord Chancellor.
Norton-by-Twycross, <i>R.</i>	Leicester .	Hon. Alfred Curzon	Lord Chancellor.
Upton All Saints, <i>V.</i> .	Lincoln . .	H. Massingberd	Sir W. Ingleby, Bart.
Wlandaff.			
Llangwinor, <i>C.</i> . . . }	Glamorgan.	W. Llewellyn .	Lord Vernon.
Llantwd Vaird, <i>C.</i> . . }	Glamorgan.	H. J. Thomas .	D. & C. of Gloucester.
Norwich.			
Barmer, <i>C.</i> }	Norfolk . .	E. John Senkler	T. Kerslake, Esq.
Bexwell, <i>R.</i> }	Norfolk . .	John H. Sparke	Bishop of Ely.
Burgh Castle, <i>R.</i> . . }	Norwich .	Charles Green .	Lord Chancellor.
Charsfield, <i>P. C.</i> . . . }	Suffolk . .	Wm. Browne .	W. Jennens, Esq.
Crimplesham, <i>P. C.</i> . . }	Norfolk . .	Houghton Spencer	Bishop of Ely.
Burrough, <i>R.</i> }	Norfolk . .	Fra. E. Arden . }	W. Repton, Esq. and Rev. F. E. Arden.
Creeting, All Saints, <i>R.</i> }	Suffolk . .	John Briggs . .	Eton College.
——— St. Mary, <i>R.</i> . }			
——— St. Olave, <i>R.</i> . }			
Fakenham, <i>R.</i> }	Suffolk . .	J. B. Sams, jun.	Duke of Grafton.
Filtingham, <i>R.</i> }	Suffolk . .	Edward Frere .	Right Hon. J. H. Frere.
Great Saxham, <i>R.</i> . . . }	Suffolk . .	Thomas Mills .	Trustees.
Hackford, <i>R.</i> }	Norfolk . .	Philip Gurdon .	T. T. Gurdon, Esq.
Horham, <i>R.</i> }	Suffolk . .	W. B. Mack . .	Rev. W. Mack.
Houghton-in-the- Hole, <i>V.</i> }	Norfolk . .	Strick. E. Neville	Marq. Cholmondeley.
Instead, <i>R. with</i> } Barton Turf, <i>V.</i> . }	Norfolk . .	John Gunn . .	The Lord Bishop.
New Buckenham, <i>C.</i> . . }	Norfolk . .	J. F. Franklin .	Parishioners.
Preston, St. Mary, <i>V.</i> . }	Suffolk . .	W. H. Shelford .	Emanuel Coll. Camb.
Thetford, St. Peter, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . .	J. Sworde . .	Earl of Albemarle.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Oxford.			
Shilton, <i>V.</i>	Oxford . .	Arthur Neate .	Rev. T. Neate.
Peterborough.			
Barnwell, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	R. Moore Boulton	Lord Montague.
Sulgrave, <i>V.</i>	Northampton	Wm. Harding .	Rev. W. Harding.
Wadenhoe, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	John Shillibeer .	Robert Roberts, Esq.
Salisbury.			
North Newington, <i>V.</i> } with Little Kneyle, C. }	Wilts . .	J. S. Stockwell }	Preb. of Beminster, Secunda in the Cath. Church.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Salisbury .	Edward Berens .	The Lord Bishop.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Salisbury .	W.S. Goddard, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Rushall, <i>R.</i>	Wilts . .	E. H. G. Williams	Bp. of Sarum, by lapse.
St. David's.			
Llandnydd, <i>P. C.</i> . .	Cardigan .	C. Griffith . . }	Pr. of Llandnydd in Coll Ch. of Brecon.
Worcester.			
Astley, <i>R.</i>	Worcester .	W. H. Havergal }	Mrs. M. H. Cooke, and G. Magnay, Esq.

Burrow, E. J. D.D. to be Joint Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, vice Rev. A. M. Campbell, resigned.

Gell, Philip, to be Minister of St. John's, Derby.

Rashleigh, G. Cumming, to a Fellowship of Winchester College.

CHAPLAINSHIPS.

Baring, Frederick, to be Domestic Chapl. to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

Braham, W. H. S. to be Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex.

Carver, James, to be Chaplain to the City of London Lying-in Hospital.

Champnes, Charles, to be Domestic Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

Fancourt, W. L. D. D. to be Chaplain to the Borough Gaol of Leicester.

Norton, W. A. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Crewe.

Powell, William Frederick, to be Domestic Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex.

Simpson, John Holt, to be Chaplain to His Majesty's Government in St. Michael's and the Azore Islands.

West, Joseph, M.A. to be one of the Chaplains of the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxfordshire.

SCHOOLS.

Bayly, W. G. to the Head Mastership of Midhurst School.

Bird, Charles, to the Head Mastership of Leominster Grammar School.

Dunningham, John, to the Head Mastership of Cuckfield Grammar School.

Kidd, Thomas, to the Head Mastership of Norwich Grammar School.

Newbold, F. S. to the Head Mastership of Macclesfield Grammar School.

Valpy, Francis, to the Head Mastership of Reading School.

SCOTLAND.

The King has been pleased to present the Rev. Robert Jamieson to the Church and Parish of Westruther, in the Presbytery of Lander and County of Berwick,

vacant by the transportation of the Rev. Dr. W. Fleming to the Church and Parish of Old Kilpatrick.

ORDAINED.

BATH AND WELLS.

By the Lord Bishop, Oct. 4.

DEACONS.

Edw. Pickering Williams, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Betts, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Roger Smith, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Edward William Batchelor, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Seth Berge Plummer, B.A. University College, Oxford.

Henry Roberts, B.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

Francis Warre, B.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

James Hutchinson, B.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

William Marriott Leir, B.A. and S.C.L. Wadham College, Oxford.

Henry Digby Serrell, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

George Bodley Warren, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

John Jowison, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

John Dixon Hales, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Hayes, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles Edward Kennaway, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Edward Alexander Webber, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Robert Smith Bower, B.A. Jesus Coll. Cambridge.

ELY.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Chapel of the Palace, Nov. 8.

DEACONS.

Richard Foley, M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

W. H. Shelford, M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

W. B. Colbeck, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

T. Burnett Stuart, M.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Robert Barrick, M.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Edward A Smedley, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Abel Chapman, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Thomas Riddell, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Charles John Myers, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Hodgson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Edward Peacock, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

William Potter, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Wodehouse Berney A. Raven, B.A. }
from the Bishop of Norwich. }

PRIESTS.

Henry Arlett, M.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

William Farley Wilkinson, M.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Edward Bates, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Richard Taylor, B.A. Queen's College.

William Keeling, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

EXETER.

At a Private Ordination by the Lord Bishop in the Chapel of his Palace, Oct. 25.

DEACONS.

John Symon Avery, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

John Clerke, B.A.

J. C. Crowley, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

R. S. Hawker, B.A. Magdalen College, Oxford.

George Innes, B.A. Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford.

John Ley, M.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

J. H. Stockham, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

William Wellington, B.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

J. S. Cookesley, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

F. Parker, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

G. F. Arthur, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

R. F. Bradstock, M.A. University College, Oxford.

W. Farwell, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

John Huyshe, M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

E. Pole, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

J. Fisher Turner, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

J. S. Frobisher, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

W. Morshead, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

LINCOLN.

By the Lord Bishop, at Buckden,
September 20.

DEACONS.

James L. Brown, B.A. University College, Oxford.

Vicesimus Knox Child, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Henry Danvers Clarke, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

Thomas B. Lancaster, B.A. Merton College, Oxford.

Charles Delmé Radcliffe, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

George A. Robinson, Christ's College, Cambridge.

Right Hon. Lord Wriothlesley Russell, M.A. Trinity College.

George W. Straton, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Matthew Carrier Tompson, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

Robert H. Webb, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Thomas Whitworth, B.A. Christ Coll.

Alleyne H. Barker, B.A. Christ Coll. }

from the Bishop of Bristol. }

Charles Parker, B.A. Queen's Coll. }

from the Bishop of Oxford. }

NO. XIII.—JAN. 1830.

R

PRIESTS.

Norris Cogswell, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Edward H. Dawson, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

John Hull, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

Alexander Manning, B.A. Catharine Hall, Cambridge.

Joseph Maude, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Frederick Morgau, B.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

R. Broome Pinniger, M.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

John Rogers, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

Charles Pratt Terrot, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Cornelius Thompson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

J. Deane Waite, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Thomas Woodruff, B.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

NORWICH.

At a General Ordination in the Cathedral Church, Sept. 27.

DEACONS.

W. John Aislabie, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Henry Milles Astley, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

James Goodwin, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

John Gunn, M.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

John Hodgson, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

G. H. Hely Hutcheson, M.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

John Deadley Mouney, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Francis Morse, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Edmund Pepys Nottidge, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

George Platt, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

W. Sprigge, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Francis Steward, B.A. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

Augustus J. Tharp, B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge.

Thomas Walpole, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

Robert Whiting, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

George Brewster, St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

Edward Everard Blencowe, B.A. St. Alban's Hall, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

John Alexander Blackett, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Edward Millard, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

James Miller Brown, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Lionel Buller, M.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

William Chaplin, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

T. Jennings Cooper, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Edward Frere, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

T. Edward Hankinson, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Richard Hart, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

George Hogg, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

John Munnings Johnson, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

William Pratt, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

F. George Rawlings, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Bradfield Sanders, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

OXFORD.

By the Lord Bishop, Oct. 4, at Christ Church.

DEACONS.

Philip Henry Vind, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

James Beauchamp, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

George Chester, B.A. Taberdar of Queen's College.

Thomas Barton Hill, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

Henry Vaughan, B.A. Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Arthur Neete, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

Charles Palairret, M.A. Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

Joseph Askew, M.A. Queen's College, Oxford, (Old Foundation.)

Geo. Riggs, M.A. Chaplain to Queen's College, (Old Foundation.)

Joseph Corpe, B.A. Chaplain of New College, Oxford.

W. F. Audland, M.A. Chaplain on the Old Foundation of Queen's College, Oxford.

PETERBOROUGH.

In the Cathedral Church, on Sunday, Nov. 1.

DEACONS.

Charles Egerton Dukensfield, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

G. Rigg, B.A. St. Peter's Coll. Camb. }
By Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Lincoln. }

PRIESTS.

Edward Dudley, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

W. Harding, B.A. University College, Oxford.

James Horwood Harrison, B.A. Merton College, Oxford.

W. D. Philpot, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

John Gunn, M.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

W. Cope, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

SALISBURY.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Episcopal Palace, on Sunday, Oct. 11.

DEACONS.

Walter Ashfordby Trenchard, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford.

W. Wyndham Tatum, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

W. Bowling, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

Samuel Smith, B.A. Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Matthew Gibson, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Matthews, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

W. Thomas Wyld, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

G. Colebrook Jordan, M.A. Pembroke College, Oxford.

Philip Poore, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Joseph Neate Walsh, M.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

Henry Browne, M.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

G. Sweet Escott, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

James Fitzmaurice, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Mason Anderson, Literate.

DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
York.			
Fledborough, R. and Thorney, V. . . }	Notts . .	John Penrose . }	Earl Manners. Geo. Neville, Esq.
London.			
Christ Church, New- gate Street, V. and St. Leonard, Foster Lane, R. . . }	Middlesex .	Sam. Crowther }	Governors of St. Bar- tholomew's Hosp. & Dn & Ch. of West- minster, the former last presented.
St. Sepulchre, Snow- hill, V. . . . }	Middlesex .	{ R. D. Shackle- ford, D. D. }	St. John's Coll. Oxf.
Durham.			
Embleton, V. . . .	Northumb. .	G. Dixwell Grimes	Merton Coll. Oxford.
Winchester.			
Archd. of Winchester, V. Andover, with Foscott, C. and Hursley, V. with Otterbourne, C. . }	Hants . .	Gilb. Heathcote }	The Lord Bishop. Winchester Coll. Sir W. Heathcote, Bt.
[Also Fell. of Winches- ter Coll. and Treas- urer of Cath. Ch. of Wells, the latter in the patronage of the Bp. of B. & Wells.]			
Bath and Wells.			
Hinton Blewett, R. .	Somerset .	Geo. Johnson .	Rev. G. Johnson.
South Bradon, Sin. R.	Somerset .	Robert Watson .	Earl of Egremont.
Yatton, V. with Kenn, C. . . . }	Somerset .	Tho. Wickham }	Preb. of Yatton in Cath. Ch. of Wells.
Winford, R. . . .	Somerset .	J. W. W. Horlock	Worcester Coll. Oxon.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Chester.			
Liverpool, St. Peter, } 1st R. and St. Nich. C. . . . }	Lancast. .	S. Renshaw .	Corp. of Liverpool.
— St. Peter, 2d R. .	Lancast. .	R.H.Roughsedge }	
Chichester.			
Barlavington, R. } Egdean, R. and Hardham, R. . . }	Sussex . .	Robert Watson }	Earl of Egremont. Sir C. F. Goring, Bt.
Ely.			
Steeple Morden, V. .	Cambridge	Charles Reynell	New Coll. Oxford.
Tyd, St. Giles, R. . .	Cambridge	F. H. Daubeney .	The Lord Bishop.
Exeter.			
Lanreath, R. and } Morvall, V. . . . }	Cornwall .	S. Puddicombe }	John Buller, Esq. Lord Chancellor.
Tamerton Foliot, V.	Devon . .	John Raynor .	Lord Chancellor.
Veryan, V.	Cornwall .	Jer. Trist . . .	Dean & Chapter.
Gloucester.			
Lassington, R. . . .	Gloucester .	J. B. Cheston .	Sir W. Guise, Bart.
Hereford.			
Eyton, C.	Hereford .	J. Williams . .	Vicar of Eye.
Pembridge, R. . . .	Hereford .	John Guard . .	Corpus Ch. Coll. Oxf.
Pencombe, R. . . .	Hereford .	J. Glasse . . .	
Peterchurch, V. . . .	Hereford .	Henry Davies .	Guy's Hospital.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Kniver, C.	Staffordshire	Henry Davies .	Trustees.
Lincoln.			
Broughton, R. . . .	Lincoln . .	D. C. Burton .	Richard Burton, Esq.
Covenham, St Barth, R. } and Winceby, R. . }	Lincoln . .	John Fretwell . }	Rev. J. Fretwell. Lord Chancellor.
Fletton, R.	Hunts. . .	J. Jackson Lowe	Earl of Carysfoot.
Foston, R. and } Leicester, St. Mar- }	Leicester .	E. T. Vaughan }	T. H. Lamb, Esq. Lord Chancellor.
tin, V.	Leicester .	Wm. Gresley .	Rev. W. Gresley.
Seals, R.	Leicester .		

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Norwich.			
Beyton, R.	Suffolk . .	Thomas Fenton	Lord Chancellor.
Burgh Castle, R. and } Santon, R. and } Thetford, St. Peter's, R. } — St. Cuthb. R. }	Suffolk . } Norfolk . }	H. C. Manning .	Lord Chancellor. Corpor. of Thetford.
Bexwell, R. and } Crimplisham, V. }	Norfolk . .	F. H. Daubeney .	Earl of Albemarle.
Little Brandon, R. and } New Buckenham, C. }	Norfolk . .	F. H. Daubeney .	Bishop of Ely.
		John France . }	F. R. Reynolds, Esq. Parishioners.
Oxford.			
Eustone, V. and } Great Tew, V. . . }	Oxford . .	Samuel Nash . }	C. D. Lee, Esq. G. F. Stratton, Esq.
Salisbury.			
Bechingsstoke, R. and } Huish, R. . . . }	Wilts . .	Charles Mayo . }	J. W. Heneage, Esq. Tr. of Froxfield Almsh.
Box, V.	Wilts . .	J. W. W. Horlock	Rev. J. W. W. Horlock.
Burcot, R.	Berks . .	S. Baker, B.C.L.	J. Baker, Esq.
North Newington, V. } with Little Knoyle, C. }	Wilts . .	Tho. Wickham }	Preben. of Beminster, secunda in Cath. Ch.
Preb. in Cath. Church of	Salisbury .	John Guard . .	The Lord Bishop.
Preb. in Cath. Church of	Salisbury .	Tho. Wickham .	The Lord Bishop.
St. David's.			
Llansadurmen, R. with } Llangharm, V. . . }	Caermarthen	John Williams .	Rev. T. Watkins.
Worcester.			
White-lady-Ashton, V.	Worcester .	J. B. Cheston . }	B. Johnson, Esq. as Trustee for R. Berkeley, Esq. a Rom. Cath.

Name.	Appointment.	County.
Bew, Dr.	Havant	Hants.
Bloor, Matthew	Late Curate of Over and Pulford	Chester.
Carter, John	Formerly Head Mast. of the Gram. School	Lincoln.
Crowe, Henry	Huish	Wilts.
Dalton, Thomas	Stanstead	Essex.
Dandridge, John Strange, jun.	Rettendon	Essex.
Leigh, George	Middlewich	Cheshire.
Nealds, Charles	Ryde	I. of Wight.
Nicholas, George, LL.D. . .	Master of Ealing School.	
Smith, Francis Grosvenor . .	Maidstone	Kent.
Smith, Hely Hutchinson . . .	Great James Street, Bedford Row	Middlesex.
Trevethan, Thomas	Helston	Cornwall.
Thomason Thomas T.	{ Senior Chapl. to the Hon. E. I. Company, at Mauritius, on his return to England.	
Watkins, T.	Pennoyre	Brecon.
Woodward, Fra. Blake, B.A.	Balliol College	Oxford.

MARRIED.

Ainslie, Rev. Gilbert, *D.D.*, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, to Emily, second daughter of W. C. Marsh, Esq. of Park Hall, Essex.

Barnwell, Rev. Charles, Rector of Mileham, Norfolk, to Sophia, daughter of the late George Windham, Esq. of Cromer Hall.

Benson, H. B., *M.A.*, Vicar of Heckington, county of Lincoln, to Mary Catherine, only child of the late S. Harrold, Esq. of Utterby House, same county.

Braham, Rev. W. H. Spencer, Minor Canon of Canterbury Cathedral and Vicar of Willesborough, Kent, to Martha, youngest daughter of Edward Martin, Esq., of Godmanchester, Hunts.

Budd, Rev. H., Chaplain of Bridewell Hospital, &c., to Jane, relict of the Rev. R. W. Allix, late Rector of Great Warley, Essex.

Bull, Rev. Edward, fifth son of the Rev. John Bull, rector of Tattington, near Ipswich, and Pentlow, Essex, to Elizabeth, only child of Thomas Hodgson, Esq.

Bulteel, Rev. Henry Bellenden, Fellow of Exeter College, to Eleanor, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Sadler, of Oxford.

Cann, Rev. W., of Cratfield Vicarage, to Harriet, second daughter of the late Rev. Heneage Robinson, Rector of Thwaite.

Firmin, Rev. Robert, Rector of Fringinghoe, to Sarah Anne, second daughter of M. Dodd, Esq., of Romford.

Gould, Rev. Edward, *M.A.*, of Christ's College, only son of Colonel Gould, of Bury, to Mary Anna Penelope, elder daughter of the Rev. Henry Heigham, of Hunston Hall.

Harris, Rev. J. H., *M.A.*, Fellow of Clare Hall, to Charlotte Ann, daughter of the Rev. J. B. Collyer, of Hackford Hall, Norfolk.

Henslowe, Rev. Edward Pering, *B.A.*, of Jesus College, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Royal Artillery at Woolwich, to Honora Mary Georgina, eldest daughter of Colonel Vassall.

Howell, Rees, Vicar of Lanca-van, to Harriet Anne, only daughter of the Rev. Dr. Williams, Master of Cowbridge School, and Prebendary of Landaff.

Kendall, Rev. W. Charles, Vicar of Swinderby, Lincolnshire, to Albina, eldest daughter of Richard Fisher, Esq., of Newark.

Layton, Rev. Charles, Rector of Bequia and the Grenades, and the fourth son of the Rev. Thomas Layton, Vicar of Chigwell, Essex, to Mary Christian, only daughter of the Hon. G. Maynard.

Law, Rev. Robert V., third son of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Sidney Dorothea, daughter of the late Colonel Davidson.

Lillistone, Rev. John, Rector of Baisham, to Adelaide, younger daughter of the Rev. Thomas Image, Rector of Whepstead.

Mayo, James, *M.A.*, of Wimborne Minster, Vicar of Avebury, Wilts.

Montagu, Rev. Horatio, to Anne Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Thomas Wood, Esq., of the Madras Engineers, at the Hotel of the British Legation, at Berne, in Switzerland.

Miller, M., *M.A.*, Vicar of Scarborough and late Fellow of Clare Hall, to Eliza Slibbert, fourth daughter of the late William Belcomb, Esq., *M.D.*, of the City of York.

Parry, Rev. William Henry, Rector of Holt in Norfolk, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Cory, Master of Emmanuel College.

Roberts, B. A., Vicar of Christ Church, Monmouthshire, and of Nash, same county, to Frances Anne, daughter of J. Breynon, Esq., of Haunch Hall, Staffordshire.

Rookes, Charles, Rector of Telford, Wilts, to Mary, daughter of the late Captain Rudsell, *R.N.*

Spencer, Rev. Thomas, Perpetual Curate of Charter House, Hinton, near Bath, to Anna Maria, only daughter of the late Major Brooke, of the Bengal Artillery, and grand-daughter of the late Colonel Brooke, Governor of St. Helena.

Steward, J., appointed to St. Christopher's, West Indies, to Matilda, daughter of the late J. Shrimpton, Esq.

Stone, Rev. William, *M.A.*, Fellow of Brazenose College, and Rector of Christ Church, Middlesex, to Louisa Toogood, only daughter of the late George William Downing, Esq.

Sunderland, Rev. Charles, Curate of Gedney, to Mary, only daughter of W. Taylor, Esq., of Lutton, Lincolnshire.

Tilbrook, Rev. S., *B.D.*, Rector of Freckenham, and late Fellow and Tutor of Peter House, Cambridge, to Frances, fourth daughter of the late John Ayling, Esq., of Fillington, Sussex, at Tillington, by the Rev. C. Townsend.

Tyndall, Rev. T. G., Rector of Holten, Oxon, and Vicar of Woodburn, Bucks, to Ann, daughter of the Right Hon. John Sullivan, of Richings Lodge, Bucks.

Wharton, T., Head Master of the Clergy Orphan School, St. John's Wood, to Miss Soilleux, of South Bank, Regent's Park.

Whitbread, C. S., of Boyton Rectory, Wiltshire, to Charlotte Matilda, eldest daughter of J. Josselyn, Esq., of Sproughton House, Suffolk.

Wilson, D., Jun., of Worton, Oxfordshire, to Lucy Sarah Atkins, of Chipping Norton.

Wodehouse, Rev. N., fourth son of the late Thomas Wodehouse, Esq., of Sennowe, Norfolk, to Georgina, third daughter of the Hon. and Rev. William Capel, Vicar of Watford.

Young, C. N., *M.A.*, Rector of Quainton, Bucks, to Anne Catharine, eldest daughter of Dr. Travis, of Scarborough.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

October 29.

Rev. George Proctor, Worcester Coll.
Principal of Elizabeth Coll. Guernsey.

December 1.

In full Convocation, by Diploma, upon
the Hon. and Right Rev. Richard Bagot,
Lord Bishop of Oxford, formerly of Christ
Church, and late Fellow of All Soul's Coll.

BACHELOR AND DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

December 10.

Rev. W. Young Churchill Hunt, Exeter
College, by accumulation.

DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

October 15.

Rev. Llewelyn Lewellin, M.A. late
Scholar of Jesus College, Principal of St.
David's Coll. Lampeter, S. W. and Preb.
of St. David's.

Rev. Charles Burton, Magdalen Hall.

November 26.

Rev. William Michael Lally, St. John's
College, Grand Compounder.

Dec. 17.

William Morgan, Esq. Fellow of Mag-
dalen College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

October 15.

Rev. M. H. G. Buckle, Fell. of Wadham
College.

William Jacobson, Fell. of Exeter Coll.

October 22.

William Cripps, Trinity College.

Rev. Thomas Harding, Worcester Coll.

Rev. John Harding, Worcester College.

Rev. Thomas Clarke, Pembroke Coll.

Rev. Cyrill William Page, Student of
Christ Church.

William John Blake, Christ Church.

Rev. T. Wotton Barlow, Wadham Coll.

Rev. T. Arthur Powys, Fellow of St.
John's College.

Rev. T. Lagden Ramsden, St. John's
College.

Thomas Walpole, Balliol College.

October 29.

Rev. Edward Browne Everard, Balliol
College.

W. Provis Trelawny Wickham, Balliol
College.

Rev. E. Hazlerigg Bateman, Balliol Coll.

Rev. Philip Guille, Pembroke College.

Edward Gillam White, Lincoln Coll.

Rev. W. J. Earley Bennett, Christ Ch.

Rev. Arthur Roberts, Oriel College.

Hon. Lowther J. Barrington, Oriel Coll.

November 4.

Rev. Patrick Murray Smythe, Chr. Ch.
John Day, Exeter College.

November 12.

Rev. R. William Bosanquet, Balliol Coll.

Rev. John Forster Alleyne, Balliol Coll.

Rev. E. Beauchamp St. John, St. Alban
Hall.

Joseph Trotman, Worcester College.

Rev. William Leslie, Lincoln College.

Rev. Matthew Getley, Lincoln College.

Rev. John Goulter Dowling, Wadham
College.

November 19.

Harry Dent Goring, Magdalen College,
Grand Compounder.

Rev. J. Champneys Minchin, Fellow of
New College.

November 26.

Rev. Joseph Saville Robert Evans,
Queen's College, Grand Compounder.
Henry Reynolds, Scholar of Jesus Coll.
Rev. John Turner Colman Fawcett,
Student of Christ Church.

December 8.

Rev. James Mackell, Brazennose Coll.
Cecil Wray, Brazennose College.

December 10.

Rev. George Ferris W. Mortimer Michel, Scholar of Queen's College.
Jervis John Jervis, Queen's College.
Rev. Charles Burlton, Fellow of New College.
Thomas Cottle, Pembroke College.
Rev. George Robert Kensit, Pembroke College.

Dec. 17.

Evan Owen Hughes, Jesus College.
Rev. H. W. G. Armstrong, St. John's College.
Samuel Richard Bosanquet, Christ Ch. College.
Rev. Thomas Seard, Magdalen Hall.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

October 14.

The Rev. Charles Burton, Bachelor in Civil Law, of St. John's College, Cambridge, was incorporated as a Member of Magdalen Hall.

November 4.

John Gregory, Balliol College, Grand Compounder.

November 12.

Rev. Frederick Gooch, Fellow of All Souls.

November 19.

Rev. William Michael Lally, St. John's College, incorporated from St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Grand Compounder.

December 3.

William Morgan, Esq. Fellow of Magdalen College, by commutation.

December 10.

Rev. T. F. A. P. Hodges, Fellow of New College.

BACHELOR IN DIVINITY.

December 10.

Rev. James Norris, Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

October 15.

Lewis Tomlinson, Wadham College.

October 22.

W. Frederick Radcliffe, Queen's Coll.
Rev. George Mason, Brazennose Coll.
Rev. Richard John Beadon, Queen's College.
John Richardson, Scholar of Queen's College.
George Pigott, Trinity College.
Moses Mitchell, Magdalen Hall.
William Rawlings, Magdalen Hall.
Charles Childers, Christ Church.
G. Andrew Jacob, Scholar of Worcester College.

October 29.

Philip Augustus Browne, Corpus Christi College.
William Coleman, Queen's College.
William Piercy Austin, Exeter College.
Thomas McCalmont, Worcester College, incorporated from Trinity Coll. Dublin.

November 4.

Thomas Kemais, Brazennose College.
George Taylor, Exeter College.

November 12.

Henry Tuffnell, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.
John Dixon, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.
George Richards, All Souls College.
Henry Thomas Worley, Queen's Coll.
George Hill Clifton, Scholar of Worcester College.
Robert Poole, Exeter College.
W. Henry Newbolt, Fellow of New College.
Rice Price, Fellow of New College.
Edward Payne, Fellow of New College.

November 19.

George Lloyd, St. Mary Hall, Grand Compounder.
Thomas Denman Whatley, Michel Exhibitioner, Queen's College.
Robert Dyer, St. Alban Hall.
Thomas Drewett Brown, Worcester College.
Sydenham Pidsley, Worcester College.
Henry Wybrow, Worcester College.
Bonamy Price, Worcester College.
Frederick Joseph Foxton, Pembroke College.

Richard Bellamy, Pembroke College.
 John Arthur Herbert, University Coll.
 Edward Carlyn, Exeter College.
 Thomas Inglis Stewart, Exeter College.
 William Bailey, New College.

November 26.

John Netherton Edwards, Worcester College, Grand Compounder.
 Thomas Turnivall, Queen's College.
 William Dod, Magdalen Hall.
 William Duke, Magdalen Hall.
 William Gould, Balliol College.
 George Dunbar Houghton, Worcester College.
 George Eaton, Brasenose College.
 Townshend Brooke, Brasenose Coll.
 George Clayton, Christ Church.
 John William Chambers, St. John's College.
 George Caesar Hawkins, Oriel College.
 Robert Hennel Flower, Trinity College.
 John Francis Richard Hill, Trinity College.
 Richard Forster, Exeter College.

Dec. 3.

Nathaniel Bond, Oriel College, Grand Compounder.
 Richard Rob. Jas. M'Pherson, Queen's College, Grand Compounder.
 John Daniel Lloyd, Queen's College, Grand Compounder.
 William Maubey, Queen's College.
 James Hursey, Balliol College.
 Henry Blissett, Balliol College.
 William Hunt, Wadham College.
 Albert Mangles, Postmaster of Merton.
 Henry Hughes, Trinity College.
 Henry Deane, Exeter College.

Dec. 10.

John Pearce Pearce, Queen's College, Grand Compounder.
 John Meynell, Brasenose Coll. Grand Compounder.
 Oliver Ormerod, Brasenose College.
 Temple Hillyard, Brasenose College.
 Brisco Owen, Scholar of Jesus College.
 Robert Blagden, Scholar of Corpus Christi College.
 Edward Phillott, Scholar of Pembroke College.
 Herbert Johnson, Scholar of Wadham College.
 Frederick Foyster Langston, St. John's College.
 George Cuddington Bethune, Trinity College.
 Edward Stewart, Oriel College.
 Hugh Polson, Exeter College.

Edward Knight, Exeter College.
 Charles Rodd, Exeter College.
 Andrew Saunders, Exeter College.
 Frederick Bulley, Demy of Magdalen Hall.

Dec. 17.

John Edward Exeter Spink, Wadham College, Grand Compounder.
 A. F. B. St. Leger, Brasenose College, Grand Compounder.
 Joseph T. Toye, Queen's College.
 Thomas Richards, Queen's College.
 John P. Simond, St. Edmund's Hall.
 George Thompson, Magdalen Hall.
 William North, Jesus College.
 William Williams, Jesus College.
 Edward Davies, Jesus College.
 William Dyer, Jesus College.
 Charles Croft, Scholar of University College.
 George Glinn Ponsonby, University College.
 John Christopher Pack, Christ Church College.
 John Young, Corpus Christi College.
 C. F. B. Wood, Scholar of Pembroke College.
 Nathaniel Constantine Strickland, Lincoln College.
 William Drake, Lincoln College.
 H. Holingworth Pearson, Lincoln Coll.
 John J. Vaughan, Merton College.
 E. T. B. Twisleton, Scholar of Trinity College.
 Benjamin Barming, Trinity College.
 John Francis Stuart, Trinity College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

Oct. 3.

Mr. Charles Williams, B. A., Scholar of Jesus College, was elected Fellow of that Society.

Oct. 8.

The Rev. Dr. Jones, Rector of Exeter College, was nominated Vice Chancellor the second time, by letters from the Chancellor of the University, and approved by Convocation; and at the same time the Vice Chancellor nominated as his Pro Vice Chancellors, the Rev. Dr. Hall, Master of Pembroke; the Rev. Dr. Jenkins, Master of Balliol; the Rev. Dr. Rowley, Master of University; and the Rev. Dr. Gilbert, Principal of Brasenose.

Oct. 14.

The nomination of the Rev. Wm. Kay, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College, as a Public Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*, was approved in Convocation.

The Rev. Edward Field, M.A., Michel Fellow of Queen's; and the Rev. James Garbett, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose, were nominated Public Examiners; the former in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*, the latter in *Literis Humanioribus*.

Oct. 30.

The Rev. Peter Hansell, M.A., Scholar of University College, on Sir Simon Bennet's Foundation, has been elected Fellow on the same foundation.

Nov. 3.

The nomination of the Rev. Geo. Riggs, M.A., of Queen's College, to be Public Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*, has been approved in Convocation.

Nov. 10.

The Rev. Frederick Gooch, Norman Hilton Macdonald, John Robert Kenyon, Students in Civil Law; Edward Hulse, Esq. Gentleman Commoner of Christ Church; and Francis Knyvett Leighton, Esq. Demy of Magdalen; were admitted Actual Fellows of All Souls' College; and Brooke William Robert Boothby, Esq. B.A. Student of Christ Church, was admitted Probationary Fellow of All Souls'.

Same day Mr. Clement Madeley Newbold, B. A. of Brasenose College, was elected Fellow of that Society.

Nov. 19.

Mr. Richard Payne was admitted a Founder's Kin Fellow of New College.

Nov. 26.

In Convocation the nomination of the following persons to enter upon the office of Select Preacher, at Michaelmas, 1830, was unanimously approved:—

Rev. Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, D. D. Warden of New College.

Rev. E. Hawkins, D. D. Provost of Oriel College.

Rev. J. Endell Tyler, B. D. of Oriel College.

Rev. George John Majendie, B. D. Fellow of Magdalen College.

Rev. John Miller, M. A. of Worcester College.

Mr. James Roydon Hughes was admitted Actual Fellow of New College.

Nov. 30.

Herman Merrivale, B.A. was admitted an Actual Fellow of Balliol College.—Same day Charles Marriott, Commoner of Exeter College; Stephen Charles Dennison, Commoner of Balliol College; and Edward Elder, were elected Scholars of Balliol College. Charles Marriott was also elected Exhibitioner on the Foundation of Mrs. Headlam; and John Cooke Exhibitioner on the Foundation of Mr. Harrison, in the same College.

Dec. 3.

Mr. James Edward Sewell was admitted Actual Fellow of New College.

Dec. 6.

Mr. Henry Blackstone Williams was admitted Fellow of New College.

Dec. 10.

The Rev. W. B. Thomas, M. A. was elected Fellow of Pembroke College, on the Foundation of Sir John Philipps, Bart.; and on the same day Mr. Francis Thomas was elected Scholar on the same Foundation.

Dec. 13.

The Rev. William Airey, M. A. was elected Fellow of Queen's College.

The Rev. George Cumming Rashleigh, M.A. Fellow of New College, has been elected a Fellow of Winchester College.

Mr. James Parker-Deane, Fellow of St. John's College, has been admitted to one of the 12 Law Fellowships in that Society.

The following Noblemen are entered at Christ Church:—Earl of Lincoln, Lord Conyers Osborne, Lord de Tabley, Lord Boscawen, Marquis of Waterford, and Hon. G. F. R. Harris.

The following notice has been issued by the Regius Professor of Divinity:

“Christ Church, Nov. 30.

“The Regius Professor of Divinity will begin a course of Lectures on Wednesday, the 10th of February, at ten o'clock, at Christ Church.

“These Lectures are intended for Students in Divinity from three to seven years standing in the University.

“The Professor requests those who desire to attend, to call in person and deli-

ver in their names to him beforehand, with a written recommendation, either from the Governor of the College, or from their tutor."

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS.

Michaelmas Term, 1829.

The names of the candidates who, at the close of the Public Examinations in Michaelmas Term, were admitted by the Public Examiners into the three classes of *Literæ Humaniores et Disciplina Mathematica et Physica* respectively, according to the alphabetical arrangement in each class, prescribed by the statute, are as follow:

In the First Class of *Literæ Humaniores*:

Bazcley, Thos. Tyson, Queen's Coll.
Eden, Charles Page, Oriel College.
Johnson, Herbert, Wadham College.
Ormerod, Thomas J., Brasenose Coll.
Price, Bonamy, Worcester College.
Twisleton, Edward Turner Boyd, Trinity College.

In the First Class of *Discip. Mathemat. et Phys.*

Morris, Robert, Christ Church Coll.
Price Bonamy, Worcester College.
Smythe, Wm. Barlow, Corpus Christi College.
Whatley, Thos Denman, Queen's Coll.

In the Second Class of *Lit. Hum.*

Briscoe, Frederick, Christ Church Coll.
Bridge, Thomas Finch Hobday, Christ Church.
Hughes, Henry, Trinity College.
Humphreys, Salusbury, Brasenose Coll.
Karlsruhe, William, Oriel College.
Mangles, Albert, Merton College.
St. Leger, Anthony Francis Butler, Brasenose College.
Whatley, Thos. Denman, Queen's Coll.
Young, John, Corpus Christi College.

In the Second Class of *Discip. Mathemat. et Phys.*

Briscoe, Fred, Christ Church.
Bridge, Thos. Finch Hobday, Ch. Ch.
Karlsruhe, Wm. Oriel College.

In the Third Class of *Lit. Hum.*

Ashe, Edward, Balliol College.
Briscoe, Richard, Jesus College.
Bailey, Frederick, Magdalen College.
Chambers, John, St. John's College.
Digweed, John James, Pembroke Coll.
Drake, William, Lincoln College.
Dunnage, James Arthur, Brasenose Coll.
Farquhar, Walter M., Christ Church College.
Freeman, Thomas, Brasenose College.
Gould, William, Balliol College.
Hillyard, Temple, Brasenose College.
Hunt, William, Wadham College.
Karlsruhe, William, Oriel College.
Langston, Frederick Fogster, St. John's College.
Lysons, Samuel, Exeter College.
North, William, Jesus College.
Owen, Briscoe, Jesus College.
Parker, Edward, Oriel College.
Phillott, Edward, Pembroke College.
Stevens, James, St. John's College.
Stewart, Edward, Oriel College.
Toye, Joseph Theophilus,
Vaudray, Daniel, Brasenose College.
Whitford, Robert Wells, St. Edmund's Hall.
Wood, Charles Frederick Bryan, Pembroke College.

Examiners in Lit. Hum.	{	R. D. Hampden,
		D. Veysie,
		J. L. Richards,
		J. Carr,
		J. Garbett,
		R. Mitchell.

Examiners in Discip. Mathemat.	{	W. Kay,
		A. P. Saunders,
		G. Riggs.

The number of the fourth class, namely, of those who were deemed worthy of their degree, but not deserving of any honourable distinction, was 95.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

BACHELOR IN DIVINITY.

Nov. 18.

Rev. W. Bootle Guest, Catharine Hall.

Dec. 9.

Rev. Richard Lowe, St. John's Coll.
(Comp.)Rev. John Evans, St. John's College,
(Comp.)

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Oct. 11.

Rev. Henry Browne, Corpus Christi
College.

Oct. 28.

John Clarke Russell, St. Peter's Coll.
J. A. Maynard, Pembroke College.
J. Houghton, Pembroke College, Com-
pounder.

Rev. W. Pochin Larken, Jesus Coll.

Nov. 18.

Rev. William Hill Tucker, Fellow of
King's College.

John Shapland Stock, St. Peter's Coll.

John Deedes, Trinity College.

Robert John Bartlett, St. John's Coll.
Compounder.

Rev. Henry Pratt, Corpus Christi Coll.

Rev. Henry Crane Brice, Christ Coll.

Rev. J. R. Hopper, Christ College,
Compounder.

Edward Raikes Edgar, Downing Coll.

Dec. 9.

John Price, St. John's College.

Edward Sneyd, Christ College.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

Nov. 18.

Thomas Wilkinson Hill, Trinity Hall.

Richard Croft Chamer, Trinity Hall.

Dec. 9.

Herbert Charles Jenner, Trinity Hall.

John Bury Dasent, Trinity Hall.

LICENTIATE IN PHYSIC.

Dec. 9.

William Gurdou Peene, Trinity Coll.
Compounder.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Oct. 10.

Rev. William John Aislabie, Trinity Coll.
Thomas Boodle, Trinity Coll.

Benjamin Thomas Williams, Clare Hall.

William Perkins, Pembroke Coll.

Abel Chapman, Queen's Coll.

W. Charles Holder, Emman. Coll. (comp.)

Vicessimus Knox Child, Sidney Coll.

Oct. 29.

Christie Innes Falconer, Trinity Coll.

John Langton, Trinity Coll.

Edward Hayes, St. John's College.

Wm. Turner, M. A. of Christ Church,
Oxford, was admitted *ad eundem*.

Nov. 18.

R. Tetlow Robinson, Corpus Christi Coll.

Evan James, Corpus Christi Coll.

Thos. Burroughs, Christ Coll.

Dec. 16.

Daniel Dod Sampson, Trinity Hall.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.Oct. 10. (*being the first day of Term.*)The following gentlemen were elected
University Officers for the year ensuing :

PROCTORS.

Rev. Henry Kirby, M.A. Clare Hall.

Rev. Edward John Ash, M.A. Christ's
College.

TAXORS.

Rev. Wm. Hodgson, M.A. St. Peter's
College.Rev. Henry Howarth, M.A. St. John's
College.

MODERATORS.

Rev. W. H. Hanson, M.A. Caius Col-
lege.Joshua King, Esq. M.A. Queen's Col-
lege.

SCRUTATORS.

Rev. William Okes, M. A. Caius College.

Rev. Thomas Musgrave, M.A. Trinity College.

Oct. 11.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Caput for the ensuing year :—

The Vice-Chancellor.

Divinity.—Rev. Joseph Proctor, D.D. Master of Catharine Hall.

Law.—Wm. Frere, Esq. LL.D. Master of Downing College.

Physic.—John Tho. Woodhouse, M.D. Caius College.

Sen. Non Regent.—Rev. Thomas Sheldford, B.D. Corpus Christi College.

Sen. Regent.—Rev. John Gibson, M.A. Sidney College.

Oct. 19.

A Grace to the following effect passed the Senate :—

"To confirm the Regulations proposed by Syndics appointed by Grace, May 27, 1829," to consider what alterations it is expedient to make in the mode of conducting the "Previous Examination."

"To appoint Mr. Bowstead of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Miller of St. John's College, Professor Henslow of St. John's College, Mr. Cape of Clare Hall, Mr. Power of Trinity Hall, Mr. Myers of Trinity Hall, Mr. Graham of Queen's College, and Mr. Baines of Christ's College, Examiners of the Questionists in January, 1830."

Oct. 29.

The Rev. Joseph Cape, M.A. Fellow of Clare Hall, and the Rev. Richard Dawes, M.A. Fellow of Downing College, were appointed Pro-Proctors.

Oct. 31.

The Rev. John Fred. Isaacson, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College and Tutor of King's College, was appointed an Examiner for Writers in the Service of the East India Company, in the room of Thomas Thorpe, Esq. Fellow of Trinity College.

Nov. 4.

The Rev. William Chafy, D.D. Master of Sidney Sussex College, was elected Vice-Chancellor of this University for the ensuing year.

Nov. 14.

James Bunch, B.A. Scholar of Emmanuel College, was elected a Foundation Fellow of that Society.

Nov. 18.

The Rev. F. W. Lodington, M.A. Fellow of Clare Hall, the Rev. Edw. Baines, M.A. Fellow of Christ's College, the Rev. John Gibson, M.A. Fellow of Sidney College, and the Rev. J. F. Isaacson, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, were appointed Examiners for the Classical Tripos, 1830. Same day the Rev. F. W. Lodington, the Rev. Edward Baines, the Rev. G. B. Paley, M.A. Fellow of St. Peter's College, and the Rev. H. J. Rose, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, were appointed Examiners of the Junior Sophs in the ensuing Lent Term.

Dec. 9.

A Grace to the following effect passed the Senate :—

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor and the other Trustees of the Botanic Garden, Professor Henslow, Mr. Peacock of Trinity, Mr. Hildyard of Trinity Hall, and Mr. Garnons of Sidney College, a Syndicate to consider of the best means of removing the Botanic Garden, and to report to the Senate before the Division of the next Term.

The Earl of Sandwich, Lord St. John, Lord Lindsay, the Hon. Adam Duncan (eldest son of Lord Duncan), and Sir Jacob Preston, Bt. have been admitted of Trinity College.

The following communication has been made to the Members of the Senate :—

"SIDNEY LODGE, Nov. 25.

"The Vice-Chancellor begs to inform the Members of the Senate, that he has directed all the designs, plans and estimates, which he has received for the New Library and other Public Buildings, to be placed in the Public Library for general inspection."

The Syndicate appointed to consider of the arrangements concerning the "Old Court lately purchased of King's College," have reported to the Senate—

"That they unanimously agree to recommend Mr. Cockerell's Design (No. 1) for the New Library and other Public Buildings, as being, in their opinion, upon the whole, best adapted to answer the purposes which the University have in contemplation."

Mr. Lewis William Sampson, of King's College, has been admitted a Fellow of that Society.

The Rev. William Carus, B.A., Thomas Williamson Peile, B.A., Charles Perry, B.A., and James Prince Lee, B.A. of Trinity College, have been elected Fellows of that Society.

The Rev. W. M. Heald, M.A. of Trinity College has been appointed Chaplain of that Society, in place of the late Rev. John Stevenson, M.A.

The Rev. E. A. Smedley, M.A. of Trinity College, has been also appointed Chaplain of that Society, in place of the Rev. N. W. Gibson, M.A.

Francis Minoch Randell, B.A. of St. Peter's College, is elected a Travelling Bachelor on the Foundation of the late Mr. Worts.

There will be Congregations on the following days of the ensuing Lent Term:—

Saturday . . . Jan. 23, (A. B. Commencement,) at ten.

Wednesday . . Feb. 10, at eleven.

Friday . . . Feb. 26, at eleven.

Wednesday . . Mar. 10, at eleven.

Friday . . . Mar. 26, (A. M. Inceptors,) at ten.

Friday . . . Apr. 2, (end of Term,) at ten.

The following is a Statement of the Resident Members of the University at the division of Michaelmas Term:—

	In Commons.	In Lodgings.
Trinity	435	206
St. John's	313	185
Queen's	151	103
Corpus Christi . . .	94	17
St. Peter's	93	33
Caius	87	27
Christ's	83	15
Emmanuel	82	12
Catharine Hall . . .	81	48
Jesus	63	6
Magdalen	51	3
Pembroke	51	6
Clare Hall	48	0
Sidney	42	8
Trinity Hall	40	1
King's	40	0
Downing	17	3
Total	1771	673

Pitt Scholarship.—An examination of Candidates for the Scholarship upon this Foundation, lately held by B. H. Kennedy, B.A. of St. John's College, will commence on Monday, 25th of January, 1830. The Candidates are required to

signify their intention of offering themselves on or before the 31st of December, in a Latin Epistle, to be presented to the several Electors, who are the Vice-Chancellor, the Public Orator, the Regius Professor of Greek, Mr. Graham of Christ's College, and Mr. Isaacson of St. John's College.

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SEATONIAN PRIZE.

[The Rents of an Estate of £40 per annum, for the best English Poem on a Sacred Subject;—to receive £100 if the Examiners consider it entitled to distinguished commendation.]

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Adjusted to

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Subject:—“*Byzantium.*”

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“*Quantum momenti, ad studium rei Theologicæ promovendum, habeat literarum humaniorum cultus?*”

Subject (for the Under graduates):—

“*Quæ sit forma πολιτείας ad Græciæ re-nascentis statum optimè accommodata?*”

N.B. These Exercises are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1830.

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Subject for the

Greek Ode, "*Ilyssi Laus.*"

Latin Ode, "*Cuma.*"

Greek Epigram, "*Ægrescit medendo.*"

Latin Epigram, "*Spatius inclusus iniquis.*"

N.B. These Exercises are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1830. The Greek Ode is not to exceed twenty-five, and the Latin Ode thirty stanzas.

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[The Dividends of £400 Navy 5 per cent. to be expended in the purchase of Greek Books, to be given to an Undergraduate yearly, at the commencement, as a Prize for Greek Verses.]

Subject:—

"*Romeo and Juliet,*" Act. 2, Scene 2.

Beginning, "*He jests at scars,*" &c.

And ending, "*I'll no longer be a Capulet.*"

N.B. The metre to be Tragicum Iambicum, Trimetrum, Acatalecticum. These Exercises are to be accentuated and accompanied by a literal Latin prose version, and are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1830. Any Candidate is at liberty to send in his Exercise printed or lithographed.

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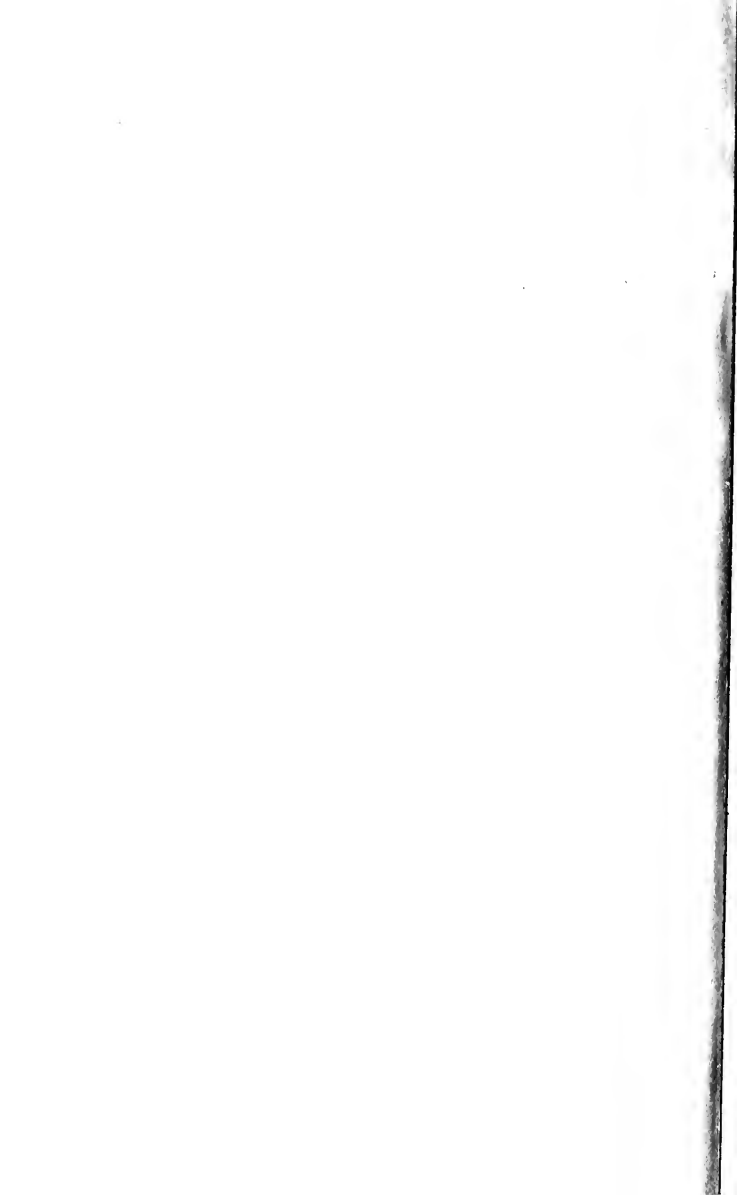
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